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## EDITORIAL COMMENT

Los Angeles has joined the formidable list of cities with municipal reference library departments as aids to their public officials.

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According to newspaper reports, six trustees of the Chicago Sanitary District and eight other political lights have been indicted for graft. Frank J. Loesch, president of the Crime Commission, who handled the prosecutions before the grand jury, declares that at least fifteen million dollars was grafted and wasted in two years. From 1925 to 1928 the pay roll jumped from \$5,280,000 to \$9,369,000.

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The Bureau of Public Personnel Administration, Fred Telford, director, now located at Washington, is moving to Chicago to become affiliated with the University of Chicago under an arrangement similar to that entered into by the City Managers' Association.

Another example of the University's progressiveness is the appointment of August Vollmer, chief of the Berkeley Police Department, as professor of police administration in the department of political science.

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In commenting upon the passage of the new election code, report of which is contained in the Notes and Events department of this issue, the Cleveland

press has the following to say about the REVIEW's old friend, Mayo Fesler, and the Cleveland Citizens' League:

In the general satisfaction over the passing of this bill among the good people of the town, it should not be forgotten that Mayo Fesler and the Citizens' League of Cleveland are entitled to far more of the credit for that bill than they have received.

Quite frequently the Citizens' League and its able and energetic director get panned by irate public officials. Very seldom does anyone turn out and pay tribute to the kind of painstaking, unobtrusive job which the league has done on such as this bill.

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**Borough Government Considered for St. Louis Region** The St. Louis news-  
Professor Thomas E. Reed has been retained to conduct an extensive survey of the metropolitan area of St. Louis for the purpose of formulating a plan for the consolidation of the city of St. Louis and St. Louis County. Readers will recall that in 1926 a proposal to consolidate the city and the county was defeated by the negative vote of the county. Since that time, sentiment in favor of applying the federal plan to metropolitan areas has grown, and it will be Dr. Reed's function to decide whether this system can be adopted in St. Louis.

Although the St. Louis and the St. Louis County Chambers of Com-

merce appear to be looking hopefully towards the federal plan, in which the general government limits itself to general needs leaving attention to local needs in the hands of local authorities, sentiment in favor of outright consolidation still remains. Opposition to the federal plan was voiced recently by Hugh K. Wagner, who has for many years been striving for a single government for the St. Louis area. Mr. Wagner believes that the borough system involves waste of public money in maintaining a multitude of petty governments. Mergers are the order of the day in business, he says, and it would be unwise to adopt an "unmergerlike" plan of government for the St. Louis community. The sentiment for local autonomy, he believes, comes chiefly from office holders in St. Louis County and those who sell supplies to its different school districts and small municipalities.

**Victories and  
Reverses for C. M.  
Plan**

On April 9 the voters of Redwood City, California, adopted the city manager plan by home-rule charter. In drafting the charter the board of freeholders was advised by Messrs. Cottrell, Nanry, Edy and May. A striking section of the charter requires that candidates for the managership must have served for at least one year as city manager, assistant, or deputy manager. As reported in the REVIEW last month, the proposed manager charter for New Rochelle, New York, contains a somewhat similar provision.

The voters of Lincoln, Nebraska, recently rejected the city manager plan by the decisive vote of 8,212 to 1,167.

In spite of all that Walter Millard could do in the last days of the campaign, the voters of Sedalia, Missouri,

last month rejected the city manager system of government. Two Negro precincts accounted for 607 of the 649 majority votes against the proposal. Upon Mr. Millard's arrival in town, the Representative Government League, which believed that the people should vote for all governmental officers and not only for councilmen, published a leaflet the opening sentences of which were: "Attention: Taxpayers! There is a Stranger in Our Midst! 'Beware of Greeks Bearing Gifts'." Mr. Millard has been accused of many things, but this is the first time that he has been mistaken for a Greek carrying a present.

For a number of years Wheeling, West Virginia, has been included in the list of cities under the manager plan. How far the fundamental philosophy of manager government was understood by the voters and practiced by the city administration has been a matter of dispute. In any case, the voters early this year approved an amendment to the charter providing for a mayor-manager and making the office elective on a partisan ballot. Last month eight persons aspiring to serve their city in this new capacity contested for the nomination in the Republican primary, while only one person filed in the Democratic primary. It is not to be expected that by tacking the term manager to that of mayor the peculiar advantages of the manager plan will be retained. Probably the only effect will be a tendency to discredit the manager form among the public at large who may fail to understand the true nature of Wheeling's chief executive office.

The optional city manager bill drafted by A. R. Hatton, making it possible for all Illinois cities to adopt this plan of government, failed in the legislature after a stiff fight.



# BARBER SHOP OPINION AND RAPID TRANSIT IN DETROIT

BY HOWARD P. JONES

*Public Relations Secretary, National Municipal League*

*Analysis of campaign publicity methods reveals interesting exhibits in the case of Dignity versus Dash. :: :: :: :: :: ::*

*"Public opinion is made in the barber shops of Detroit."*

This quotation is from one of the circulars attacking the recent Detroit rapid transit plan which was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls April Fool's Day. It has more in it than appears on the surface.

It is the core of the apple of political campaigning. It is the *pièce de résistance* of a hearty meal on citizen psychology. It might be termed the keynote of the whole problem of governmental reform.

When we journey to the borders of the province of political science and come to that ill-defined region where are located the mills and factories of opinion, we leave behind the world of facts. We see a great region peopled with overalled figures, men wearing sweaty blue shirts or coarse flannel jackets, women cooking over hot stoves, men shovelling, men pulling levers, men turning cranks, men oiling machinery: all kinds and types of men; blonde giants from the North, swarthy dwarfs from the South, Slovaks, Poles, Czechs, Swedes, Norwegians, Italians, Bulgarians, Turks, Russians, Armenians, Syrians, Mexicans, Jews, Negroes. Last but not least, men, dressed all in white, like priests at the altars of a god—lo, barbers.

"Public opinion," writes Professor Clyde L. King of the University of Pennsylvania, "is not the mob howling in the street . . . it is the mature,

social judgment reached after experiences have been recounted, hopes and fears expressed and results weighed. It is a dynamic force that writes commandments and statutes anew. It is the force that translates social needs into governmental action. . . . It is the creative, directive power in government."

Yet, according to the Detroit Committee of Fifty-one, which was responsible for the statement with which this article opens, all this takes place in barber shops. Have we overlooked the barber shop as the great forum of twentieth century democracy? Is our concept of public opinion incorrect? Is it a force created by the click of tonsorial shears? Can it be controlled? Can it be mastered? These and similar questions should be in our minds as we glance at what happened in Detroit last April Fool's Day.

No attempt will be made here to answer these questions, however, or to cast any new light on so involved a matter as the formation of public opinion. The situation in Detroit will be presented for its own sake. If there are any conclusions to be drawn, the reader can draw them.

First let us see what happened; second, let us take a glance at the campaign material that brought about the result; third, let us see what efforts were made by the defeated side.

On April 1, 1929, the Detroit electorate, by a vote of 90,439 to 35,416,

rejected the first subway construction program ever submitted to the voters—a bond issue of \$54,600,000 which would have paid for the major share of the construction of 13.3 miles of train operated subway and 2.03 miles of subway and elevated for street car use.

The objections that were voiced most seriously in the campaign against the plan were:

1. That the financial plan to pay a proposed 17 per cent by *ad valorem* taxes upon the city at large, would result in a tax burden with no benefit to outlying homes.

2. Special assessments would be inadequate to pay 51 per cent of the total cost, as proposed by the Rapid Transit Commission, so that an additional general property tax would be required to pay the cost. Special assessments were opposed particularly in the districts where the crosstown lines were supposed to run.

3. That the route was not extensive enough to afford service to various outlying districts of the city, such as the northeast and the northwest. That the promised speed (about 18 miles per hour from end to end of the line) was not really "rapid transit." That this was only the beginning of more routes, more millions, more taxes and more assessments.

4. That the propaganda in advertising, just prior to election, advising the workers to vote for the subways, aroused opposition instead. These ads were signed by downtown property owners, largely. One of the large factors was the thought that an effort was being made to build up the downtown center—stores, office buildings, banks, etc.—at the expense of outlying neighborhood stores.

5. There was uncertainty as to whether the subways would prove satisfactory, as against surface relief. It was felt that other means of transit, possibly, had not been sufficiently tried out. In two reports made by the Mayor's Committee on Finances, it was suggested that a coördinated survey of the entire transportation problem of the city, including street cars, buses, and motor vehicles should be made. In other words, the city was not "sold" on the idea of subways.

However, it is interesting to note that in the literature passed out by the

opposition there was no attempt at serious analysis of the problem. Indeed, the fundamental, most active opposition, was based on a few catch phrases and a handful of superficial but glowing statements aimed at the particular prejudices of the particular voters. It is interesting to note also that the proponents of the plan apparently had every avenue of control of public opinion on their side. Every newspaper was in favor of the subway construction. The radio was used intensively, although only for a few weeks prior to the election—and by both sides.

How then did the opponents of the project get their ideas across to the voters so successfully as to rout completely the arguments of those favoring the plan?

First, there was the barber shop pamphlet. In large letters across its face glared the opening sentence of this article. "*Public Opinion is Made in the Barber Shops of Detroit.*" The circular, which is quoted at length for the novelty of its argument, continued:

"Why?

"Because the Common People are served in them.

"Because they are the neighborhood meeting places where public issues are discussed.

"Because people have a bit of leisure to consider such questions when they meet and wait; and

"Because the Master Barbers and their workers get a slant on such questions that few other business men and workers get.

"Well, what of it?

"This:

"Many people who attend barber shops are working people, who pay rent, and are interested to prevent rents getting higher.

"Many more own their own homes and don't want taxes to eat up their earnings.

"Many more are buying their homes on partial payments made every month—with city taxes coming in a lump in July and state and county taxes coming in another lump in December. These people are interested in preventing



these lump tax payments from becoming too burdensome.

"Many more are buying vacant lots on contract with monthly payments, annual city taxes, annual state and county taxes and special assessments for pavements, sidewalks, sewers and water supply. These people don't want any new burdens, especially when they are for somebody else's benefit.

"To which of these classes do you belong?

#### "THE APRIL FOOL'S DAY JOKE

"On April 1—which is, very appropriately April Fool's day—the common council and mayor of Detroit are asking the taxpayers, renters and workers of Detroit to impose *Ninety Million of Debt for April Fool Rapid Transit*, which will serve only eight per cent of the car riders and will benefit only eight per cent of the city's area but will be paid for by everybody. If this job is put on the city it will not produce rapid transit for the whole city.

"Its speed limit is fixed at sixteen (16) miles an hour. The police let the citizens drive their cars at twenty-four miles an hour now, and we don't call that 'rapid.'

"It will have only a double track. There is no rapid transit system in this or any other country with less than four tracks, one each way for local trains, one each way for express trains.

"It will serve thirty-two million riders out of the four hundred millions who ride surface cars today. That means that only eight out of every hundred riders can get any use out of it.

"It will serve thirteen and a half square miles of the city's area. There are one hundred and sixty-six miles of territory in the city.

"It will not serve any of the city's territory north of Temple Ave.

"It will not serve the Hamilton, Twelfth, Linwood and Dexter Districts.

#### "EVERYBODY WILL PAY

"Among them are the city councilmen who have submitted it. Five out of nine of them opposed it."

There were many others, including the neighborhood weekly paper distributed gratis to the home-owner's door step, all playing upon the slogan "April Fool Rapid Transit." The following sample, with the sentences

shrieking across the page in big bold type, is also choice:

"When Pingree lived

"We paid a three cent carfare.

"When D. U. R. got control

"We paid a five cent carfare.

"When the city bought the lines

"We paid a six cent carfare.

"When it had them awhile

"We paid an extra fare for transfers.

"Now April Fool Rapid Transit

"Proposes a ten cent carfare

"With three cents for transfers.

"How do you like it?"

But what were the advocates doing all this time?

In dignified, well chosen language, they were pointing out the advantages of saving time and of being comfortable, in newspaper advertisements. They were outlining the proposal in all its details over the radio, and talking about the fairness of the financial plan. They were distributing a neatly bound joint report of the Street Railway Commission and the Rapid Transit Commission. They were doing as much—and more—as is usually done by the advocates of such a proposal.

Typical of their appeals is the following:

"SAVE TIME!!

"BE COMFORTABLE!!!

"Here in plain language, are the physical features of the Rapid Transit Plan to be voted on April 1st.

"Surface street cars come down Woodward Avenue until they reach Temple Avenue where they disappear underground and continue underground to Woodbridge Street. There they turn and proceed back up Woodward underground until they reach Temple Avenue, where they emerge and continue as surface cars.

"Surface cars coming to the downtown area from the west side of Woodward disappear underground on Grand River Avenue at Elizabeth Street and run underground to the Capitol Square loading station, where they turn underground and continue underground until they

again come out at Elizabeth St. and continue as surface cars.

"Surface cars coming down from the east side of Woodward Avenue will go underground at St. Antoine Street and proceed underground to the Library Park loading station, where they turn underground and run underground until they again emerge at St. Antoine and continue as surface cars.

"There will be a through track connection under Grand River from Library Park to Capitol Park to permit running through cars from the West Side to the East Side or in the opposite direction.

"The Vernor-Mack underground line runs from Coolidge Highway through the Rouge as an elevated structure to Woodmere Avenue where it disappears underground and travels underground via Vernor Highway and Michigan Avenue to the Campus Martius loading station, thence via Monroe, Randolph, Gratiot and Mack to Connors Road.

"Recently we had bitterly cold weather. Long lines of women and children, working girls, workmen and other citizens stood in streets, waiting for the surface cars.

"WITH THE RAPID TRANSIT PLAN IN OPERATION  
"all of these people would have been comfortably waiting in connected underground loading stations in the downtown area. Also this condition would have prevailed at the many underground loading stations along the Vernor-Mack line.

"With all of these hundreds of surface cars underground in the crowded sections thus relieving street traffic conditions, accidents would be fewer and walking or driving made easier and safer.

"The Rapid Transit System, through its connections with 27 surface routes of the D. S. R. and 12 bus lines will speed up the entire surface transportation of the city, saving time for workers and everyone else.

"Incidentally, 75 per cent of the material used in building the lines will be purchased in Detroit, and thousands of Detroit workmen will be given employment during the five-year construction period.

"It's a good plan. It's a workable plan. It should be adopted at the April 1st election. Vote 'YES.'

(Signed)

"CITIZENS' BETTER TRANSPORTATION  
COMMITTEE."

There is something of gall and worm-wood to the political idealist in all this. Whether the decision of the voters on April 1 was right or wrong is beside the point. For the purposes of this discussion, we don't know and we may remain ignorant. Neither should this be construed as a reflection upon the work of the Rapid Transit Commission, which has accomplished a great deal for Detroit during the period of its existence. We are not concerned here with an analysis of the rapid transit situation in the Motor City. That is in itself a subject for investigation. We are concerned solely with campaign methods: low brow versus high brow, if you will. What does interest us is: it was the rough and ready method, the shirt sleeve style, of demagogic propaganda that won out.

There are, of course, certain assumptions that have to be made if we grant the above. We have to agree that the test was a fair one; that method, indeed, determined the result, rather than any essential unsoundness of the proposition, the reluctance of the voter to approve any large public expenditure at this time, or any one of half a dozen other possibilities.

Above all, we have to grant that machine politics did not play so big a part as to have been definitely responsible for the outcome. Herding voters to the polls and instructing them how to mark their ballots would have had the same result as did the circular propaganda. Probably a true picture would have to consider more of these elements seriously. In any event, the Detroit literature, if it may be so termed, deserves preservation as a classic of a sort.

What then?

Must the advocate of anything progressive in government take off his coat, slip on his overalls and get to work digging ditches?



It is for you to answer. Perhaps the project ought to have been defeated anyway, and the result illustrated the truth of *vox populi vox Dei*. On the other hand, if we were among staunch backers of rapid transit for Detroit, we might think of the words of James Russell Lowell in "The Candidate":

"It aint by princerples nor men  
My preudent course is steadied;  
I scent which pays the best and then  
Go into it baldheaded."

Be that as it may, we are not going to be enticed into drawing conclusions. Let us take the case of Detroit Rapid Transit *vs.* Barber Shops, mark it Exhibit A, and leave it on the shelf for diagnosis in the light of later events.

## POLITICS IN NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS

BY H. W. MARSH

*Civic Director of the City Club of New York*

*Since the days of Mayor Hylan politics has dominated the filling of the higher posts in New York City's public schools. Persistent efforts at reform have been frustrated.* :: :: :: :: :: ::

SINCE the administration of Mayor Hylan, the New York City board of education has been largely political in character. The selection of associate superintendents and the treatment of the position of superintendent of the school system by the board of education has been controlled very largely by the dominant political organization. This prostitution of the higher positions in the school system for the benefit of the political organization was started by Mayor Hylan with an attack on Dr. William L. Ettinger, who was superintendent of schools when Mayor Hylan took office. With various changes in the membership of the board of education, Mayor Hylan was not only able to force out Superintendent Ettinger, but also to gain a practical control over the board of associate superintendents, whose power with respect to the administration of the school system is almost unlimited. The sinister effect of this political control has persisted ever since the Hylan administration.

### APPOINTMENTS TO HIGH POSTS

In New York City there are some thirty district superintendents in the public schools and about forty high school principals. The various teachers of special branches and others who are subject to selection by the board of associate superintendents without the necessity of complying with any requirement for competitive tests as to their relative fitness number over 100. The board of associate superintendents, charged under the law with the power of selection, is composed of nine persons appointed by the board of education with a free hand. The board of education is composed of seven persons appointed by the mayor.

Certain restrictions with respect to the qualifications of the high school principals and district superintendents are laid down in the education law, and these restrictions prevent to a large extent the appointment of anyone without at least minimum qualifications. However, within recent years,

there have been at least two notable exceptions, even in this respect. In one case litigation resulted in the demonstration of the fact that Miss Lucille Nicoll, who had been selected by the board of associate superintendents for district superintendent, did not possess the minimum qualifications for the position required under the law. In another case, that of Miss Agnes Birmingham, a relative of Mayor Hylan, it was found after her selection by the board of associate superintendents, that she did not have the requisite qualifications for the position of director of speech improvement required under the law. In both cases it was common knowledge that the selection had been made by the board of associate superintendents because of the unusual political pressure which had been exerted on behalf of the respective candidates.

#### CANDIDATES WITHOUT POLITICAL SUPPORT FAIL

The policy of the board of associate superintendents with respect to the selection of appointees for these higher supervisory positions has been to receive applications from any candidates who have the temerity to apply in the face of existing conditions. Just what process these applications are subjected to in the board of associate superintendents remains to a considerable extent a mystery. It is said that they are examined carefully with respect to the experience records of the various persons who may apply and that the applicants are summoned before the board for personal interviews. However, it is common knowledge that members of the board of associate superintendents receive communication in various forms from the political leaders who are interested in particular candidates, and it is also common knowledge that with few exceptions

those candidates who have failed to make proper political connections usually fail to receive favorable consideration at the hands of the board of associate superintendents no matter how extensive their experience or how excellent their qualifications.

While it is true that occasionally, in spite of this system of selection, persons of excellent qualifications find their way to selection and appointment, it is also a fact that the able and ambitious members of the teaching staff to whom this pulling and hauling through political channels is distasteful, refuse to apply for promotion when a vacancy occurs.

#### RIGID EXAMINATIONS FOR APPLICANTS

It has seemed to those who are interested in the improvement of conditions in the teaching forces that the only method by which this demoralizing political condition may be corrected is by subjecting all applicants to a rigid competitive test as to their fitness, and opening the selecting process so that there may be a fair field and no favor. The conduct of such a test must be removed as far as possible from all connection with the political officials of the board of education. Under the education law, there exists a board of examiners of nine members, whose duty it is to select through competitive tests the teaching staff of the public school system up to the grade of high school principal. This board of examiners is made up of persons who are themselves selected through competitive tests of fitness held by the municipal civil service commission of the City of New York. They are paid salaries of \$11,000 per annum, which is equivalent to the salary paid a district superintendent. The examination by which the municipal civil service commission selects a member of the board of examiners is



typical of the kind of test that would be appropriate for the selection of a district superintendent or a principal of a high school. A non-assembled examination based upon the records, reports and observations made of the candidates at work in their own schools would constitute the test which would be appropriate. The board of examiners themselves have outlined the kind of a test which they would deem appropriate for filling the position of district superintendent.

#### LEGISLATIVE MEASURES FAIL

In order to accomplish the purpose of giving to the board of examiners jurisdiction over these higher positions, a bill has been introduced in the New York legislature every year for the past eight years. Two years in succession the bill passed the lower branch, and in the session just adjourned the bill passed the senate by a majority of one vote. But the bill has never passed both branches in the same session. The only obstacle to the passage of the bill has been the opposition of the board of education and the democratic administration of the city government in New York. While the open propaganda in opposition to the bill has been based almost entirely upon the argument that a competitive test for these positions is

impractical, it is perfectly clear that the real motive behind the propaganda is the fact that the political organization considers the positions involved of great importance to the organization itself. Through these positions a great many favors may be bestowed throughout the teaching force in the public schools, and teachers and the parents of children may be placed under definite obligation to the political organization through the acts of these various supervisory officials. Each succeeding year the bill has been introduced, it has accumulated support from civic organizations and disinterested public-spirited citizens throughout the city. The fact that the city, however, has but one state senator and only four or five assemblymen who are not entirely subject to the political control of the dominant organization, has made it difficult, if not practically impossible, to obtain consideration of the bill on the basis of its merits at any session of the legislature. It would seem that the only method by which a bill of this kind can obtain favorable consideration in the state legislature is through a wide campaign by which the up-state members, as well as those from New York, may be made aware of the detailed effect of the bill on existing conditions in New York City.

# SCAPA HELPS SCRAP BILLBOARDS

## A SHORT STORY OF THE ANTI-BILLBOARD CAMPAIGN IN ENGLAND

BY HAROLD A. CAPARN

*Landscape Architect, New York City*

*Scapa means the Society for Checking the Abuses of Public Advertising, organized in London in 1893.* :: :: :: :: :: ::

THIS story is derived from three pamphlets issued by the Scapa Society of London concerning the campaign in Great Britain against the evils of the billboard.<sup>1</sup> It will be of especial interest to those waging a similar war over here, as it will enable them to compare conditions and methods of meeting them on both sides of the Atlantic.

"When the Scapa Society was formed in 1893, it was called the Society for Checking the Abuses of Public Advertising, but it was soon found that the initials lent themselves to the present brief title. It is, however, concerned with advertising only where the display injuriously affects the amenities of outdoor life. Its objects have been thus defined:

"(1) To protect the picturesque simplicity of rural and river scenery, and to promote a due regard for dignity and propriety of aspect in towns; with especial reference, in each case, to the abuses of spectacular advertising.

"(2) To assert generally the importance, as a great public interest, of maintaining the elements of interest and beauty in out-of-door life.

"Scapa believes that, if the individual

members of the community throughout the country would exercise their influence and act in concert, they would form a much stronger force than the various classes which, for the immediate convenience of their own business, disregard the rights of those who desire to see nature, and whatever is pleasing in the daily round in towns, without molestation. One way in which great good may be done would be by resolving to abstain from purchasing commodities and patronizing entertainments, and so forth, which are forced upon their notice by methods which they resent as offensive and unfair. The virtue of this rule depends, however, on the willingness of those who observe it to explain their reasons for adopting it. The idea might, at first, appear novel and eccentric to many shopkeepers and hotel proprietors and others, but it would gradually become familiar and, in the end, self-evident, for no one who stops to think would suppose that the comfort and convenience of society can be promoted by practices which convert things that would give pleasure into occasions of discomfort.

"It is no part of the purpose of Scapa to prohibit out-of-door announcements, least of all to prevent the use of well-designed and cleverly printed and carefully arranged posters. It would only stipulate that they should be exhibited in the right and not the wrong

<sup>1</sup> The three pamphlets bear the following titles: *A Brief Sketch of Scapa Aims and Work*; *An Account of the Constitution, Aims, Method and Work of the Society*; *A Brief Résumé of Work Done*. All published by the Scapa Society, 7 Buckingham Palace Gardens, Buckingham Palace Road, Westminster, S. W. 1, London, England.



places, and that the sense of the community affected, and not the will of the billposter or other publicity agent, should be the arbiter."

#### REGULATION NOT PROHIBITION

The principles which in recent years have come to be understood and adopted by those who work to restrain the excesses of outdoor advertising in the United States are those of the Scapa Society of thirty years ago. They are:

Not the abolition of billboards, but their restraint.

The protection of all worth-while scenery as a community right and asset.

The restriction of billboards to their proper places, to wit, the commercial districts; for the real evil of the billboard is not so much in itself as in its placing.

People should be encouraged not to buy goods that are offensively advertised.

Outdoor advertising can be effectively and systematically controlled only through legislation.

#### FIRST LAW SECURED IN 1907

It was not until 1907, thirteen years after its founding in 1893, that the Scapa Society succeeded in securing the Act of Parliament necessary to provide the powers of control. This delay was due, not to hostile opinion either in the House of Lords or Commons, but to the manoeuvres of a small minority which was able to block the progress of a bill, the supporters of which were held "not to have a claim upon the time of the House." Although it did not go far enough in the grant of powers, this first bill was of enormous importance because it asserted the principle of control for the first time in the history of English jurisprudence. Owing to similar obstructions, it took eighteen more years to put through

another bill making good the deficiencies of the first. The second became law, however, in 1925. It empowered any local authority to make by-laws:

- (1) For regulation and control of hoardings and similar structures used for the purposes of advertising when they exceed twelve feet in height;
- (2) For regulating, restricting or preventing the exhibition of advertisements in such places and in such manner, or by such means as to affect injuriously the amenities of a public park or pleasure promenade, or to disfigure the natural beauty of a landscape.

It is, however, provided that advertisements existing at the time of the making of the by-laws shall be exempted for a term of not less than five years. Also, the by-laws require confirmation by the Central Government. The Home Office for a long time approved by-laws covering large parts of districts, but later adopted a stricter interpretation of the "natural beauty of the landscape," so that the Act of 1925 became necessary. The extended powers which it provided include similar protection for:

- (a) The view of rural scenery from a railway, a highway, or any public place or water;
- (b) The amenities of any village within the district of a rural district council;
- (c) The amenities of any historic or public building or monument, or of any place frequented by the public solely or chiefly on account of its beauty or historic interest.

Another statute of 1907 contained the Sky Sign Clauses giving local

authorities power to prohibit them. They are now rigidly forbidden in most cities.

Also a great number of minor, but most useful provisions restraining disfigurement have been, from time to time, inserted in bills dealing with railways, canals and street traffic. The law of rating (taxing) has been, in a great number of cases, invoked for the discouragement of field board advertising.

It thus appears that, in Great Britain, the control of billboards is a matter of local option. Power is derived from the central authority, Parliament, and is delegated to local authorities, which can not only decide whether they will undertake the control of billboards, but also the degree of control they will accept. One writer complains that many local authorities asked for and obtained powers much narrower in scope than they could have secured.

#### THE BRITISH VIEWPOINT

To anyone conversant with the billboard campaign in this country three phases of the British story stand out:

(1) Nowhere and at no stage of the operations is there any suggestion of opposition on the ground of the rights of private property. Billboards are controlled on private and public property alike, the condition of control depending on their being visible from such points as to "affect injuriously the amenities of a public park or pleasure promenade, or of villages, or to disfigure the natural beauty of a landscape."

(2) Nowhere has there been an effort to disparage the movement by labeling it as a mere question of aesthetics. Everywhere it is assumed that the unsightliness of billboards in particular situations is a real and sufficient justification for their removal. In both the statutes cited "beauty" is regarded as deserving the protection of the law.

(3) As a rule the organized billboard interests, such as the Billposters' Association, avoid any interference with the amenities of rural landscape. They would not oppose the passing of by-laws designed for its protection. The Act of 1925 has the support of the Billposters' Associations and of the London Chamber of Commerce with which they are affiliated.

These three questions, which form the first-line trenches of the billboardists over here, and on which the attacks of our anti-billboard forces are mostly directed, do not seem to exist for our British brethren. They have no opposition of courts reluctant to admit the rights of the community to regulate public detriments on private property, and no judicial antipathy to the "aesthetic principle" to overcome. The organized billboard interests can see where their best interests really lie, and are actually supporting a reasonable and necessary control of outdoor advertising, thereby making friends of the billboard fighters and the public instead of enemies.

#### WHAT MUST BE DONE HERE

When we have carried their first-line trenches, when the Supreme Court of the United States has approved the Massachusetts constitutional amendment to regulate advertising on private property within public view, setting the pace for similar constitutional amendments in the other states (or perhaps for an extension of the "police power" to the same point by judicial enlightenment), and when the organized billboard interests can see that they are injuring themselves and hastening the day when an outraged public sentiment will rout and overwhelm them, when they join the National Committee for Restriction of Outdoor Advertising in favoring the exclusion by law of their products from the non-commercial



districts where they do not belong, then, at last we shall be in the strategic position of the Scapa Society in 1893.

This delayed development seems discouraging, for we have not the patience of the Britishers to wait for thirty-two years for the legislation we want. But the prospects are not so gloomy as they may seem. While we are working and waiting to carry the first-line trenches, we are also arousing and organizing anti-billboard sentiment which, with the aid of the national temperament and desire for quick action, is likely to result in a sudden revolution. As we have a more flagrant billboard nuisance here to vanquish than they have in England, the antagonism to it, as it gains strength and impetus, will be the more irresistible. The states will fall in line one after another with enabling legislation, and one great advantage will be that a multitude of local ordinances over there will be replaced by state statutes, many of them covering territories larger than the whole of Great Britain.

The powers conferred by the two statutes of 1907 and 1925 to exclude

billboards from rural districts in England could be conferred on local authorities in the United States by zoning. It has been proposed in Massachusetts and other states to zone the lands along public highways to preserve that rural character which in part justifies the outlay of public funds on their construction or improvement. Improved rural highways serve not alone farm lands and commerce, but in these days of motor travel serve quite as much the motorist seeking an escape from the burdens of commerce and business. For great numbers the ordinary countryside is their park and recreation ground, and should be guarded with equal care. Farm lands presumably cannot be zoned on just the same basis as Class A residential districts, although they necessarily exclude many kinds of business in large degree. Also they contain farm buildings, which may, in a sense, be classed as industrial. But the principles of zoning residential districts may be applied to farm lands; and one business that should be specifically excluded is that of renting or selling space for, or erecting or maintaining billboards.

## HOW TO ELIMINATE TRAFFIC FROM DOWNTOWN SECTIONS

BY V. R. STIRLING, C.E., AND RENSSELAER H. TOLL, E.M.

UP to the present, most city planning seems to have had in mind merely the *relief* of traffic. Streets are widened, multiplied, built one above another and one below another in a frenzied effort to *relieve* congestion rather than to *cure* it. But the benefits of all this widening and building are only temporary.

In order to arrive at the proper solu-

tion of the traffic problem in large cities, let us remember that the modern city is essentially a meeting place, not for public worship or for common defense, as in earlier times, but for the transaction of the affairs of life. Residence within the political boundary lines which ages ago supplanted the masonry walls is purely incidental.

Today cities all have a "downtown"

section used as a meeting place during the hours of business. Every day a wild scramble ensues to get into this section and to get out of it. This is called "traffic"; and when the traffic becomes too great, suburban districts begin to compete with the downtown section as advantageous meeting places.

#### KEEP MOTOR VEHICLES AWAY FROM MEETING PLACES

It would seem, in our opinion, that the most successful "downtown section" of any city, would be one that best preserves its importance as a meeting place and minimizes its position as a way station. And it would also seem that the best way to accomplish this is to prohibit all unnecessary motor traffic in the downtown section during business hours. Vehicles have no utility in a place of meeting.

The first step in the proceeding would seem to be to fix the limits of a downtown section, inside which no privately owned motor vehicle is ever permitted to enter during business hours; say from seven in the morning until seven at night. Merchandise to be hauled in and waste to be hauled out during the night. Then, completely surround this downtown business district with a wide street. Vehicles going from one part of the city to another are to detour around the restricted district.

Facing this detour street on the side adjacent to the restricted business section, build the parking garages as many stories in height as the storage of cars requires. People having business in the downtown business section will park their cars in these buildings.

#### FREE TRANSPORTATION IN DOWNTOWN SECTION

On the streets in the restricted section should be free motor vehicles for passengers, which should be equipped

with very low platform bodies to require but one step for passengers to enter them. These motor vehicles really substitute for a moving sidewalk running the entire length of the street.

These busses or floats should run in two lines, the float on the inside making local stops along the curbstone, the "express" bus running from intersection to intersection without stopping, operating in the same manner as a four-track subway. Since pavements are built for vehicles to roll over rather than to stand upon, the downtown pavements will all be practically 12 feet wider than at present, as soon as parking along the curb is done away with.

These free floats or busses are in one sense really an extension of the building elevators. No one dreams of charging admission to the elevators of an office building, their cost and operation being charged into the rental paid by the tenant. The floats in the street should be considered in the same light.

The street cars should be left entirely alone, with the exception that turns in the downtown section should be eliminated wherever possible. Street cars deliver their passengers, load on new ones and go on about their business. Private cars do not do this.

Interurban cars should not run through a "restricted district" on the surface of the street. Their function is to take people away from it or bring them to it, not to distribute people through it.

The assumption that no privately owned motor vehicles are to be allowed on the downtown streets must be qualified to this extent: business firms situated within the restricted district, whose vehicles are vital to the transaction of their affairs, should be allowed the number actually requisite to their business, and permits should be issued for that number of vehicles.



Encourage these firms to load and unload somewhere else than alongside the curbs, however. Downtown banks need their cash cars during business hours, and downtown hotels need their delivery trucks for dispatching travelers' baggage. The mail must move, and other activities of government such as police and fire departments must carry on; but all unnecessary freight movement should be postponed until after business hours.

The wide belt street surrounding the downtown business section should be plentifully supplied with pedestrian tunnels, for on a street of this nature a pedestrian would be as much out of place as in a busy railroad yard. In fact, it seems to the writers that frequent pedestrian tunnels should form an integral part of the design of all major traffic streets.

#### ADVANTAGES

Under the foregoing plan it seems reasonable to assume that property within the downtown business district would have a steadier value. Also, that as the need arises, another one could be organized alongside it, as it is not the intention in presenting this idea to hamper or limit the growth of a city. In the uptown shopping

district the same idea could be adopted; and, in general, the use of a motor car for city use during business hours would consist chiefly of driving over wide boulevards from one business section to another.

Traffic within the restricted area would move freely and expeditiously, on account of the substitution of system instead of the haphazard, street-jamming lack of system now prevailing. Conveyances being operated by trained, responsible persons whose jobs would depend on their efficiency, and street crossing by pedestrians being eliminated, travel would be quite safe and many traffic officers could be done away with, thus decreasing public expense.

To summarize, our suggestion is to segregate the most congested business district, surround it with a wide thoroughfare and adequate garages for parking autos, and to operate shuttle cars on the streets within the segregated district in the place of the myriad miscellaneous cars which now jam the streets during business hours. The details must be worked out in accordance with local conditions, but the broad plan is presented here in the hope that city planning boards will give it due consideration.

## CHICAGO'S SUPERHIGHWAY PLAN

BY EUGENE S. TAYLOR

*Manager, Chicago Plan Commission*

*Superhighways have passed the discussion stage in Chicago.*

EVERY twenty minutes during 1928 one more automobile was added to the number of those already traveling about the streets of Chicago. Every hour there were three more, every day seventy-two, more than five hundred each week, and over twenty-six thou-

sand more at the end of the year than there were when the year began.

Nearly a million and a half automobiles are registered in the state of Illinois, and almost half a million of this number are owned in Chicago. Traffic counts show that approximately

175,000 passenger automobiles alone, to say nothing of trucks, commercial vehicles, motor coaches and wagons, come into Chicago's central business district each day.

Supplementing this, some eighty to ninety thousand vehicles per day—nearly two hundred thousand on Sundays—cross the city borders by way of the thirteen main highways leading to and from Chicago. All these facts together give the picture of Chicago's problem of vehicular traffic and street congestion.

Five distinct types of street improvement have been either carried out or projected by Chicago, in accordance with plans developed by the Chicago Plan Commission. These several classifications are: (1) A quadrangle of wide streets surrounding the central business district; (2) connections to and from the central business district and surrounding areas; (3) major streets or traffic arteries, extending from city limits to city limits; (4) through-traffic or express streets; and (5) superhighways. This article will deal only with the last named subdivision of the street improvement program in the Plan of Chicago, namely the projected superhighways.

#### WIDE STREETS NOT ENOUGH

Wide streets are beneficial to traffic, but wide streets alone will not solve the general traffic problem. Wide streets provide room for a larger number of vehicles at the same time than narrow streets can accommodate, and they increase the speed at which traffic can operate safely; but they do not do away with one factor in traffic movement which is of the utmost importance from the standpoint both of speed and safety. That is the problem of intersecting or cross streets. Not until this problem has been solved can it

truly be said that a real solution of the traffic problem has been achieved.

Particularly is this true with respect to long-distance traffic such, for instance, as that originating in suburban communities around Chicago and having its destination in or near Chicago's central business area. Officials of the state and county highway departments, in collaboration with the Chicago Regional Planning Association, have striven valiantly to improve road conditions to and from Chicago. But the more they succeed in improving and widening the exterior highways around the city, the greater the amount of traffic upon these highways becomes, and the more acute is Chicago's street problem.

For in Chicago, as in virtually every other city in this region, the street system was laid out many years ago—long before Chicago became a metropolitan center, and long before the advent of the automobile. Our main street system was created, for the most part, at a time when Chicago was only one-tenth its present size. Consequently the streets were not intended to serve the purposes they are now being called upon to serve, but, on the contrary, were designed largely for slow-moving horse-drawn vehicles making comparatively short trips. Thus in continuity, in width, in length, and often even in direction, we find our city streets falling short of today's needs.

#### AVONDALE SUPERHIGHWAY

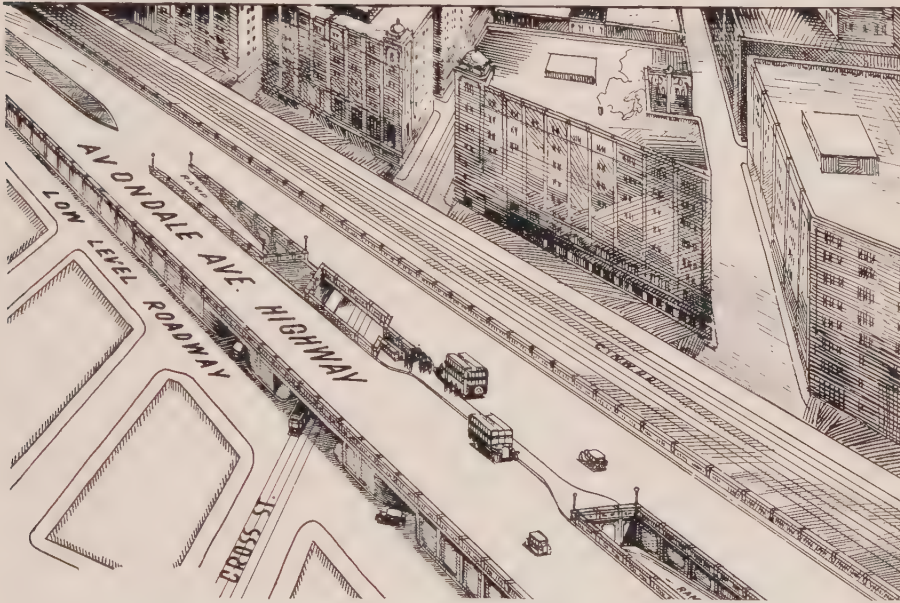
This condition can perhaps best be illustrated by a concrete example, which, fortunately, will likewise serve as an illustration of what the Chicago Plan Commission has in mind in the comprehensive system of superhighways which it is now planning. The example I shall cite is the proposed Avondale superhighway, which is one



of some six or seven similar improvements that the Plan Commission believes must eventually be constructed, radiating out fan-shaped from the center of the city to the municipal borders on all sides, and there making contact with the splendid hard road highway system which has been and still is being developed by the County of Cook, the State of Illinois and the Federal Government.

city limits, to continue its journey on into and perhaps through Chicago.

The Avondale superhighway is intended to supply that need. Beginning at the northwestern city limits, the plan recommended by the Chicago Plan Commission contemplates the construction of an improvement 210 feet wide and parallel to the elevated tracks of the Chicago and North Western Railroad, extending approxi-



AVONDALE SUPERHIGHWAY SHOWING BOTH LOW LEVEL AND HIGH LEVEL ROADWAYS

Within an area of slightly over one thousand square miles northwest of Chicago there are today more than three hundred miles of main paved highways. These roads all converge near the northwestern city limits of Chicago in a locality formerly known as the town of Jefferson. No motorist in Chicagoland needs to be told that there is no direct, adequate and convenient way for the traffic upon all these highways, after it reaches the

mately ten miles into the heart of the city.

#### NO CROSS TRAFFIC

For the first nine miles of this distance the plan is to extend the fill or the elevation of the railroad right-of-way for a distance of 160 feet at right-angles to the railroad, and to construct upon the top of this elevation at the same height as the railroad tracks, a high speed thoroughfare 160 feet in width,

with ramps or inclined roadways in the center thereof at strategic intervals connecting with main city thoroughfares. Upon this superhighway there would be no cross traffic, no left-hand turns and no right-hand turns, because the superhighway would pass above all intersecting streets.

In this nine-mile distance it is likewise planned to construct a second street, alongside the elevated highway, at the normal street level. This low-level street is designed for local traffic purposes, to provide connections between the various ramps, and also to connect streets which now do not pass through the railroad elevation.

With but possibly a single exception, every north-and-south, east-and-west, or diagonal street which is open through under the railroad right-of-way will be open through under the superhighway likewise, so that the building of this highway cannot be said to be creating any obstruction which does not now exist. It merely constitutes a widening of the track elevation already there, and therefore is free from all objectionable features, particularly in view of the local, low-level roadway which will furnish an outlet for such streets as now come to a dead end at the railroad elevation.

As the 210-foot superhighway nears the central portion of the city, it becomes necessary to carry it above the railroad tracks instead of alongside them. Therefore for the last mile of the project, the 160-foot-wide superhighway will be constructed directly over the railroad, and for this section of the improvement the adjacent low-level street, being unnecessary, has not been planned. In this section, also, the ordinary streets likewise pass above the railroad yards and over the river, and here consequently these viaduct streets are planned to connect directly with the superhighway.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF TRAFFIC AT CITY TERMINUS

At the eastern terminus of the Avondale project it is planned to provide two branches to aid in the distribution of the superhighway traffic. One branch is planned to lead directly east and west, connecting with Lake Shore Drive and the outer boulevards along the edge of Lake Michigan, and with all the main avenues of traffic over which it will cross. The route which this branch will follow may be some street such as Illinois Street, or it may be the proposed new thoroughfare to be created along the north bank of the main channel of the Chicago River, commonly known as North Bank Drive.

The other branch of the Avondale superhighway is planned to follow Canal Street (in which street there will then be two levels), from a point near Kinzie Street south to Monroe Street, passing above the various east-and-west streets over which it extends. Canal Street is the western boundary of the quadrangle of wide streets that has already been developed around the central business district, so that superhighway traffic can either use any east-and-west or north-and-south street to reach a destination in or around the loop, or it can avoid the loop altogether by using the quadrangle streets.

The second superhighway thoroughfare upon which the Chicago Plan Commission is now at work, is a similar development alike in principle but different in details, that will lead directly through the city in an east-and-west direction from the western city limits to the quadrangle boundary, Canal Street. Intensive study has been given to this West Side superhighway, but at the present writing no route for this traffic artery has been determined upon, nor the other details of it such as width,

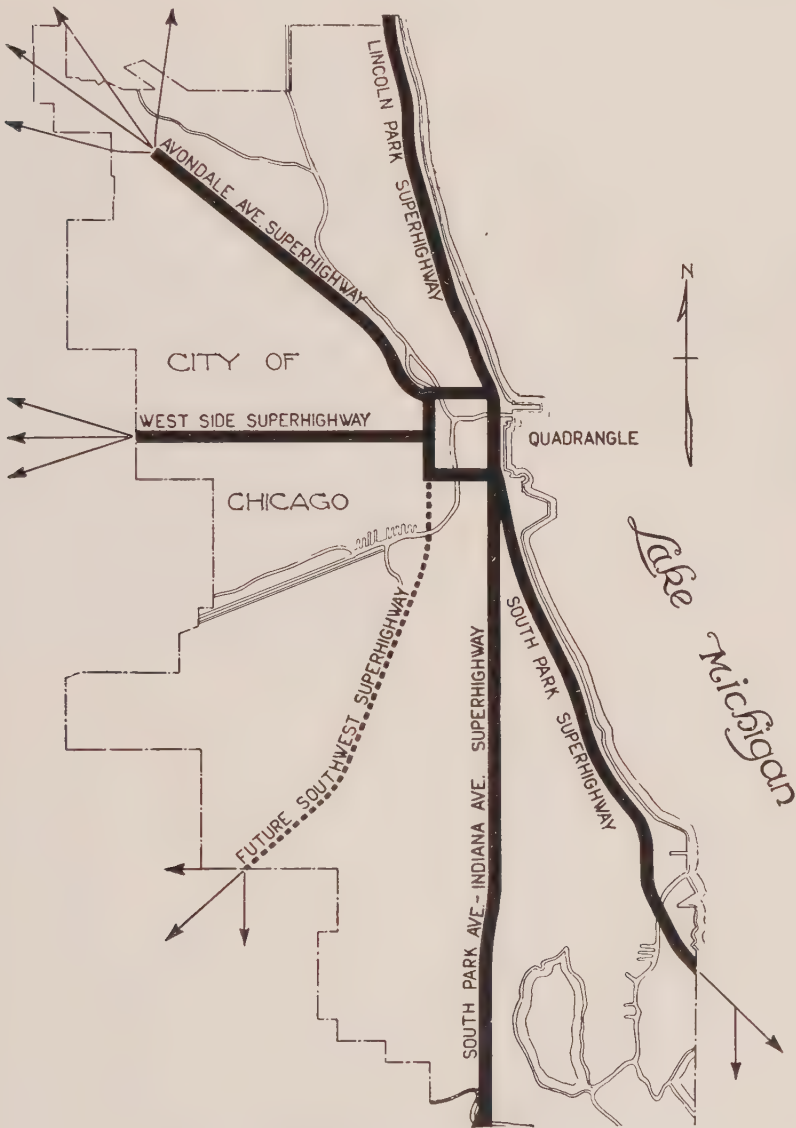


type of construction, legal and financial details, and so forth.

OTHER SUPERHIGHWAYS

To show the thoroughness with which the Chicago Plan Commission goes into projects of this kind, I might

mention that studies have been made, plans drawn, and estimates of cost developed for a variety of widths and types of construction upon a number of west side streets, including Austin Avenue, Illinois Street, Fulton Street, Lake Street, Madison Street, Monroe



PLAN OF PROPOSED SUPERHIGHWAYS FOR CHICAGO

Street, Congress Street, Polk Street and Roosevelt Road, all of which streets have been studied with reference to their suitability for development as the west side superhighway.

When its recommendation covering the west side superhighway has been made, the Plan Commission intends to devote the same sort of study and attention to a route southwest and northeast through the southwest side of the city. Together these three routes, it is believed, will care adequately for the traffic requirements of the northwestern, western and southwestern sections of the city, insofar as those needs can be served by superhighway development.

With respect to the north and south sides of Chicago, they already are being served by superhighways which are being developed and extended as conditions and financial possibilities permit. These highways take the form of boulevards built along the lake shore. The one to the north will extend, when complete, all the way from the northern

city limits down to the center of the city, where it will meet a similar boulevard development now in process of construction along the south side lake shore. As no streets intersect these boulevards it is not necessary to have them elevated. Where streets lead into them, grade separations are provided in order to give north-and-south traffic uninterrupted movement.

Still another superhighway will be needed for south side traffic, however, and some months ago the Chicago Plan Commission selected the route which, in its judgment, will be the best one for this highway to follow, but as yet the detail plans and estimates of cost have not been completed. The route, however, follows South Parkway and South Park Avenue from the heart of the city south to the vicinity of 95th Street where it deflects slightly to the west and follows Indiana Avenue to the southern city limits, where it will meet the focal point of some eight or ten county, state and national highways.



# OUR AMERICAN MAYORS

## XVII. CHARLES S. ASHLEY OF NEW BEDFORD

BY B. FRANK MICHELSEN

*How the man who is probably the champion long-distance mayor of an American city of 100,000 population or more retains his hold on the people.*    ::    ::    ::    ::    ::    ::    ::    ::



MAYOR CHARLES S. ASHLEY

THE Honorable Charles S. Ashley, seventy summers young, began his twenty-fifth year as mayor of New Bedford on January 1, 1929. A remarkable record in the political annals of the United States! Indeed, it appears to be a unique one, for it is quite doubtful if any other municipal executive has equaled this record.

Two years ago Mr. Ashley was ill in a hospital and he refused to be a candidate. Certain of his friends, however, conducted a last-minute sticker campaign, and he won the election—even though his name was

not on the ballot. Now, two years later, he has won another signal victory, for this time, in a free-for-all race with five candidates in the field, he was reelected not only by a plurality of approximately 4,000 votes over his nearest opponent, but also by a majority over all.

Charles Sumner Ashley was born in New Bedford in 1858. He received a grammar school education. At the age of sixteen, he took a position in a pork market in New Bedford. Here he had labored for a year when his employer offered to sell the business to his youthful clerk for \$3,400. Young Ashley had but \$80 to his name. However, he managed to finance the undertaking, and at the tender age of seventeen he became a full-fledged proprietor of a market.

The future mayor of New Bedford engaged in the pork business, both wholesale and retail, for a period of fifteen years. Every morning found him on the job by five o'clock. Such an early start was necessary because many of his customers were mill workers who, because of the scarcity of ice chests in those days, were obliged to buy their meat fresh every day and before they went to their machines at 6.30 o'clock. So, from early morn until late at night "Charlie" was meeting all sorts and conditions of men. Young Ashley, it is certain, took advantage of the many personal contacts which he made in this way to

build up a wide and valuable acquaintance. Moreover, the friendships, which he cultivated at that time with great assiduity, proved to be very helpful in his subsequent political career.

#### YOUNG ASHLEY ENTERS POLITICS

In 1883, at the age of twenty-five, Ashley made his first bid for a political office, that of common councilman, and was victorious. The following year he ran for the board of aldermen. Even though he was defeated, he was not the least bit discouraged and tried again for the same office in the next election. A newspaper said of that victory:

Charles S. Ashley, the aldermanic candidate on the Citizens' Temperance ticket, exhibited the greatest variety of split tickets, and his workers were numerous. Many of his supporters were careless in placing his stickers, and in Ward 1 he made a good showing for nearly every office from mayor to assistant assessor. Mr. Ashley was the only candidate on this ticket who was successful.

He was reelected to the same office the following year. Then in 1888 the Independent Citizens' Party was organized, and Mr. Ashley made his first bid for the mayoralty on this ticket. There were three candidates in the field. Mr. Ashley came in second. These three men finished in the same order the following year.

In 1890 at the age of thirty-one, Charles S. Ashley was elected mayor for the first time. He was again successful the next year. During these two terms the youthful mayor earned the sobriquet of "Sand-catcher Charlie" because of the numerous catch basins which he had installed to provide much-needed drainage for surface water. Then, after an interim of three years, during which time he served as postmaster of New Bedford, Ashley was again elected mayor in

1896; and, despite the ridicule heard on all sides, he started in where he had left off in 1892 to complete the installation of catch basins, keeping at the project until every square in the city was drained. Today no one would care to go back to the hip-boot era prior to the advent of "Sand-catcher Charlie."

The year of 1896 also marked the beginning of eight straight victories for Mayor Ashley. During these years he was opposed several times by a clergyman who headed the "No License Reform" ticket. The "Independent Socialist" party also sought to wrest the laurels from Ashley without success. On one occasion the opposition adopted the slogan—"Anything to beat Ashley." But he was unbeatable.

#### "SAND-CATCHER CHARLIE" MOVES AGAINST GRADE CROSSINGS

The objective of Mayor Ashley after getting his catch-basin project well under way, was the elimination of dangerous grade crossings. This proposition proved a hard nut to crack. Hearings were held on the proposed plan from time to time, with a constant stream of objectors appearing at each hearing. They came from all parts of the two counties which would have to bear part of the cost if the project went through; while eminent counsel representing the railroad did everything possible to block the measure. Then, too, the mill executives of New Bedford, together with bankers and business men generally, were against the proposition.

However, the mayor was insistent and persistent. After a battle that lasted nine years, he had the satisfaction of seeing the hazardous grade crossings abolished. Moreover, even though it cost a million dollars to do this work, the subsequent growth of



the city, which has more than doubled in population since that time, would have compelled the eventual doing away of these crossings and at a much greater cost, had it not been for the courage and sagacity of the mayor, which brought about the change when costs of material and labor were comparatively low.

Mayor Ashley, always on the alert to anticipate the future needs of the city, was not content to mark time while awaiting the outcome of his battle with the New Haven Railroad, and in the midst of the fight with that corporation we find him pressing for the construction of a new bridge across the Acushnet River. A veritable storm of protest arose against this "fool scheme" of a man whose chief joy in life was thinking up ways and means of spending taxpayers' money. "What earthly need is there for a structure costing a million and a half dollars, that would benefit only the city of New Bedford?" was the question raised by those communities which would have to contribute towards the cost of such an undertaking.

However, after the battle of words was over, "Charlie" was again the victor, and the "fool scheme" became a reality. Today, with thousands of automobiles streaming across this spacious bridge, which adequately serves as one of the main arteries to historic and picturesque Cape Cod, the former condemnation has been changed to commendation for the man whose foresight was largely responsible for this indispensable public improvement.

#### THOUGH A GENIAL PERSONALITY MAYOR HAS ENEMIES

Public improvements advocated by Mayor Ashley have not been the sole *casus belli* in New Bedford, however, for practically all of the twenty-eight

times when he has run for mayor have been battles in which little or no quarter was given. A few of the newspaper headlines apropos of the 1897 municipal campaign give some indication of this fact: "Hammer and Tongs," "Tissue of Lies," "Just Before the Battle," "Hot Time in Town," "Ashley Reëlected After Hot Fight."

The last headline is typical of the climax of nearly every municipal election that has been held in New Bedford for the last three decades. The other headlines quoted have been varied slightly from year to year, but they, too, are typical. Moreover, editorial writers have waxed eloquent against the usually victorious gladiator, as witness the following:

The candidate of our support was nominated because his friends felt that he represented the principle of fealty to the laws which the people have made and respect for the orderly and law-abiding administration of public affairs. It is needless to recount the details in which the present administration has traversed and contradicted both of these principles. . . . If the gentleman (Ashley) who is renominated for the office of mayor in this city represents anything at all beyond his attractive personality he represents the idea of a one-man government—he being the man.

The local correspondent for an out-of-town newspaper had this to say about that election:

Mr. Ashley was reëlected mayor of New Bedford because the people like him. He has a merry way about him which is attractive to his friends and foes, and criticisms of the conduct of the administration are of little account in comparison with Mr. Ashley's amiable and spirited individuality. . . . Mr. Ashley never forgets anybody after the election is over. He is ready to stop and talk with the humblest citizen whom he meets on the street, and his engaging manner has given him a personal following which is too loyal to be dislodged by criticism, even when it is meritorious. And so it happens that our merry monarch will rule over us another year.

The echo of this particular campaign had hardly died down when the "Merry Monarch" startled everybody by recommending the installation of an intercepting sewer. "Reckless extravagance" was the term used by the opponents to this latest proposal. It took him fourteen years to get this major improvement started. Now all of the trunk-line sewers are connected up in a super trunk line that extends out into Buzzards Bay for a distance of over half a mile. At this point all of the sewerage of the city is now discharged by gravity, thus doing away with the thirty-six outlets which formerly emptied into the Acushnet River at various points from one end of the city to the other, and which were a constant menace to health because of the pollution of the waters. This condition was corrected at a cost of \$1,200,000. Here again the vision and courage of Mayor Ashley were exemplified, for the project would have cost at least double that amount if the start had been delayed very much longer.

#### A PROMOTER OF PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT

Even before the advent of the automobile he had begun a comprehensive program of street-widening so that today the city is blessed with encircling boulevards and wide avenues, together with many well-laid-out streets, which are lighted with neat ornamental electric lights, and are quite capable of caring for greatly increased traffic. It is interesting to note that the chief thoroughfare leading in and out of the northern section of the city was designated "Ashley Boulevard" during one of the few years when he was a private citizen.

Land to the extent of 189 acres was purchased at a cost of \$84,000 at the instance of Mayor Ashley and laid out in beautiful parks, which today are

worth \$1,500,000. In addition, two marine parks are in the making at slight cost to the city. This is being accomplished by the simple expedient of building bulkheads around some odorous flats in the Acushnet River, and then dumping ashes, which are collected by the street department, inside of the retaining walls. When the filling is completed these areas can be made into delightful spots of recreation for the people of New Bedford at little cost.

Another measure advocated by the mayor which meant a great deal to the people was the inauguration of a three-cent fare for workmen. This fare was in effect for twenty years, during which time the Union Street Railway Company, one of the most successful and best equipped roads in the country, paid an annual dividend of 8 per cent.

Still another accomplishment of his long reign was the erection of new and commodious school buildings of A-1 construction, with large playgrounds, to care for the rapidly growing city.

Shortly after the World War, community centers were organized, with the assembly halls and gymnasiums of conveniently located schools made available for both young and old to engage in healthful recreation after working in the mills during the day.

Americanization work was also extensively undertaken here at the close of the war. This work has proved to be highly beneficial to newcomers from other lands, and it has speeded the naturalization of such persons by giving them a comprehensive training in the fundamentals of true Americanism. Probably no other city in the country excels New Bedford in this kind of service.

Moreover, New Bedford was the first city in Massachusetts to place its



women school teachers on a salary basis equal to that of men teachers doing the same kind of work.

In 1897 the "Further Water Supply" system was put into operation. Since that time, under the direction of an expert water-works man and the keen coöperation of Mayor Ashley, this indispensable service has been constantly developed to meet the needs of the growing city. According to the standard schedule of the National Board of Fire Underwriters, the New Bedford water supply is charged with but 31 points of deficiency out of a possible 1700—which gives this system an efficiency mark of 98½ per cent from the standpoint of fire protection. Moreover, the quality of the water is excellent according to the findings of the State Board of Health.

Mayor Ashley has often been accused of being a "free" spender. In the light of these permanent improvements, together with many others which

space does not permit mentioning, it can be readily seen that he has been a "good" spender; for most of these projects were put through when costs were very much lower than they are at the present time.

During the early part of the "Merry Monarch's" long reign, his greatest vote-getting strength was in the end wards of the city. In subsequent years, as the more conservative element began to realize his administrative abilities, the center wards rallied strongly to the Ashley banner. In the last campaign, even though he lost both end wards—which was largely due to the fact that one of his opponents, who happened to be of French extraction, captured the so-called French vote of the city—the central wards went stronger than ever for Ashley. So, the "Merry Monarch" will be in a position to observe his silver anniversary as mayor of New Bedford one year hence

## CHARLESTON PORT DEVELOPMENT UNDER PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

BY J. RUSSELL WAIT

*General Manager, Port Utilities Commission, Charleston, N. C.*

*The story of port development through public ownership on a cost basis, told by one who has spent many years in privately owned and operated industries.* :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE port of Charleston, South Carolina, is one of the oldest on the American continent, one well equipped with natural harbor facilities, and with a creditable past record.

Changing industrial and agricultural conditions and the resultant modification in the rail distribution system have brought several cycles of improvement and retrogression in the port. For

seventy-five years attempts have been made by the city of Charleston to improve the port for the benefit of the people of the state and the nation.

### BEGINNINGS OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

In 1921 an eminent port authority was employed to recommend a course of procedure to enable the city to protect its interest by municipally owned

rail-water terminal facilities. This expert made a thorough and comprehensive survey. After carefully considering his report the city decided on the purchase of an existing terminal company, jointly owned by two connecting carriers and operated as a separate company. The property purchased consisted of thirteen miles of standard-gauge railroad sidings serving one hundred industries, wharves and docks and forty-six miscellaneous buildings, warehouses, dredging outfit and three locomotives. To permit this purchase a bond issue of two and one-half million dollars was floated to be retired in forty years, and operations began on July 10, 1922.

In commencing operation of this municipally owned property, there was no clearly defined policy nor knowledge of just what practice would best develop the port, but only a vague notion that new and improved facilities should bring new tonnage and development.

Studies were made of other ports. On account of the after-war inflation some of them were found to be making money, so the Charleston venture seemed destined to be a profitable business.

Simultaneously with the venture into public ownership, a private company was organized to lease and operate the United States army base as a terminal for import and export tonnage. This plant was outside the city limits and the jurisdiction of the city. Much destructive competition resulted. It developed that in the port of Charleston there were four general types of terminals competing for the ocean-borne traffic of the port, namely, privately owned and operated docks, railroad-owned and operated docks, municipally owned and operated docks, and federally owned and privately operated army base. So long as the peak of after-war tonnage was available to the

port, each of these terminals was able to exist without hardship, but curtailment of tonnage and increase of competition in the port and between ports brought on serious difficulties and forced a consolidation of the army base and the municipally owned terminals.

#### SPECIAL INTERESTS AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE ELIMINATED

The writer of this article has been in charge of these consolidated properties for over four years. Previously he had for many years been in executive charge of privately owned and operated industries. The views expressed herein are therefore the result of efforts to apply the principles of privately operated business to publicly owned and operated terminals.

In taking charge of the complicated situation, great care was exercised in order that no special interest or political influence might interfere with operation on good business principles. In the light of four years' experience it is plain that any little improvements effected are due to the fact that interference has been negligible and unbusinesslike practices have been avoided. Had this precaution been omitted, long since would have disappeared the opportunity to formulate a policy based on service to customers on a cost basis.

In the beginning there existed no yardstick by which to gauge a contemplated contract. For example, an existing lease of a terminal to a steamship company appeared to be based on nothing more than the steamship company's statement that it could pay \$4,000 a year and that if any more were asked it would leave the port of Charleston. On account of the complicated local situation this threat made trouble for the commission because it had no information as to whether the rental formerly charged was proper or not. There was a peculiar belief that a



public dock implied a dock similar to a public road, owned by the public and open to all alike without cost. This sentiment, always carefully disguised of course, was advanced by those making use of the public facilities for their private operations. It may be of interest to note, however, that the rental paid by the above-mentioned steamship company was increased to \$24,000 a year in 1926 and remains at that figure at this writing, the change having been brought about by the simple application of common sense in determining what were the costs of terminal operations at privately owned and operated docks and applying this cost per ton to the steamship company operating on the publicly owned and operated docks.

#### COST BASIS AROUSES OPPOSITION

This material change in policy threatened to destroy the management, which was accused of overcharging and of underdeveloping the port. The attacks came from bankers, brokers, agents and others directly profiting from the terminal operations. But as each controversy developed it became easier to expose the selfish interest pressing for financial advantage.

In other activities involving the use of railroad cars, the handling of vessels, the storage of cargo, the charge for dredging and other services furnished, the basic rule has been to assess charges, whenever possible, on a basis of the cost of the service—the principal exception being the services furnished on a wharfage, storage and handling tariff fixed by the railroads at below cost basis. Where possible, the cost of service by a private operator is determined and under no circumstance is this cost undercharged.

On regular business flowing consistently through the port, which has reached fixed levels of cost, the opera-

tion of this policy is relatively simple, but when the soliciting agents of railroads or steamship companies, or local industries, or even the so-called port developers in the employ of the city itself, approach the publicly owned property for service at a figure less than cost, unlimited controversy arises. Usually the argument is made that new business is impending, with only the port charges standing in the way of securing it.

#### RELATION OF RAIL FREIGHT RATES

It is evident that the ports of the United States are similar to large business operations. Each can be and is aroused to intense competition with the others, which has frequently reduced port charges below service cost. The basic principle of the rail freight rate structure, under which the Interstate Commerce Commission has allocated each port a trade territory and made the rates applicable to and from this territory favorable to the port, is lost sight of. This allocation earmarks certain tonnage as available at a particular port and as belonging to that part. This is class one of tonnage.

Looking at the port of Charleston or the port of Mobile, one observes that the trade territory of each is in general a long, narrow, rectangular section. If a study is made of the imports and exports properly handled through the port of Charleston or that of Mobile, it will be found that a perfectly definite tonnage is available to each from its respective trade territory. Outside of this tonnage there exists the possibility of handling competitive trade from the central freight area north of the Ohio River, and if the ports of Charleston and Mobile decide, for development purposes, to cross the Ohio River in their zeal for tonnage, they should do so with the full knowledge that when they cross the Ohio River they must face

the competition of the St. Lawrence waterways' ports and of all other eastern ports of the United States and the Gulf. This is class two of tonnage available, highly competitive.

The third type of tonnage available to either the port of Charleston or of Mobile is tonnage originating in or consumed in the trade territory of another port—for example, tonnage originating in territory properly allocated to Savannah, Georgia. If Charleston enters Savannah's trade territory, it is obvious that it must absorb the freight difference in favor of Savannah. If it does, then some freight may be diverted, but it soon is returned to Savannah when that port meets the reduction. This is bound to occur, and the policy has brought about a regrettable condition at practically all United States ports, excepting San Francisco and New Orleans.

As a result, publicly owned facilities that attempt to meet such unfair practices have no chance to pay their way. There is much ignorance and indifference on the part of the average taxpayer about these matters, because much misinformation is spread by importers, steamship companies, railroads and others profiting on the business, while the public treasury is underwriting the cash losses. All of this tends to bewilder the average citizens to such a degree that some of the best of them align themselves against the policy designed for their own protection.

Most public properties are administered by a commission serving without pay. A particular commissioner finds himself pressed on all sides by the ardent advocates of bringing in some alleged new business. He is naturally honest but the clamor may blind his judgment and sometimes pressure reaches him because of his

affiliations. Once the charge for handling the business has been reduced, it is almost an impossibility to increase it.

Of course, there is the special case of the port which is competing with another port which has formerly decided on the policy of wasteful expenditure of public funds under the guise of port development. Public demands may force the competing city to enter into a similar practice, but no organization of this type is long able to sustain itself, and as a result a job becomes a political plum. It is much easier for a politically minded individual to proclaim loudly the policy of port development while fostering a raid on the public treasury for as much money as the policy may cost.

This condition can be stopped only by the insistence of the Interstate Commerce Commission that port charges be based on the average cost. This has been and is being vigorously pressed by the ports of the Southeast.

#### OPERATION AT COST IS POSSIBLE

Four years' experience and adherence to a fixed policy of charging what the service costs have demonstrated that it is possible to operate publicly owned rail-water terminal facilities at cost. It is certainly not true that because the public owns a dock it is free to the very few who use it for business purposes. This would be a special privilege of tremendous proportions.

The hardest individual to handle is the wealthy, influential taxpayer who argues that he is entitled to all kinds of service at no cost because he is a large owner or taxpayer in the public property. If he is made to think, he will see that it is to his advantage to enforce the pay-as-you-use policy.

Like other publicly owned facilities, the rail-water terminals need business administration to avoid waste.



Public ownership of rail-water terminal facilities is necessary in order to protect the public interest. Too many ports have failed to realize this until discriminations by railroads have forced them to act. There is no room for doubt that public terminals, honestly managed and with a port policy based on business principles, offer the only possible solution of the problem of what is wrong with any particular port.

The port probably has left its development to the special selfish interests and has been imposed upon. But when purchasing the rail-water facilities to protect the public interest, it is even more wrong to operate them loosely and extravagantly at great public cost.

The average taxpayer, once he is acquainted with the facts, will not willingly foot the bill to make a public dock a free dock.

# TAXATION IN THE PROPOSED METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT OF PITTSBURGH

BY THOMAS H. REED

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*Designing a new government for a metropolitan area raises fresh problems of taxation which, however, were sidestepped by the Pennsylvania legislature which permitted no change in the present system of assessment and taxation in Pittsburgh. With respect to these powers the metropolitan city of Pittsburgh is merely the successor of Allegheny County.*     ::     ::     ::     ::     ::     ::     ::

WITH the creation of metropolitan governments as demanded by new conditions of life in and about our great cities, there comes a new question with regard to taxation, namely the question of the distribution of the cost of metropolitan government.

The constitutional amendment under which Pittsburgh and Allegheny County have been moving towards a consolidated city-county government along federal lines authorizes the legislature to provide in the charter "for the assessment of property for taxation, the levying and collection of taxes, and the payment of the cost of any public improvement, in whole or in part, by special assessment upon abutting and non-abutting property materially benefited thereby, and, for this purpose, real estate so charged

shall be classified as urban, suburban and rural, and assessments made in accordance with such classifications."

It is the opinion of several gentlemen learned in the law, who have been consulted with regard to the effect of this section, that the limitation "urban, suburban, and rural" applies only to that portion of the section which relates to special assessments. It is the purpose of this language not to return to the old system of assessing property for general taxation as urban, suburban and rural, against which there were many and serious objections, but merely to provide that large improvement districts must be zoned in accordance with the character of the property and its relation to urban development. If, for example, it is

proposed to construct a section of trunk line sewer, ultimately to form part of a sewer system designed for a whole drainage area, it is proper that all parts of the area should bear a portion of the cost of the construction of this particular section.

It is only fair, however, that a distinction be made between the lands to be immediately served, those which might be served within a reasonable time, and those outlying lands with regard to which actual benefit from the sewer would arise only after a considerable lapse of time. It is distinctions of this character which the commission had in mind in framing this particular portion of the amendment. You will note that under the clause quoted, assessments by the district plan are made possible, thus making public improvements on a large scale "financible" by means of benefit assessment. There is another section of the amendment which provides for districts for the purpose of acquiring, constructing, or operating public works and utilities in which the cost is to be borne in proportion to property valuations. Thus, as far as public improvements are concerned, we have provided two strings to our bow,—the benefit assessment plan and the special taxing district plan. You will further observe that the language of the first part of the clause quoted gives the legislature power, in very general terms, to provide for the assessment of property for taxation and the levying and collecting of taxes. We are informed that this language is broad enough to authorize the setting up of a scientific assessment procedure and modern machinery for the levying and collection of taxes.

#### HOW COSTS MAY BE DISTRIBUTED

Returning now to the question of distribution of the cost of metropolitan

government, we find that in the case of special districts, the cost may be apportioned either in accordance with the valuation, population or service. Sometimes two or more of these bases of apportionment are used together. For example, the cities and towns in the Massachusetts Metropolitan District pay with respect to sewerage for interest and sinking fund charges in proportion to taxable valuation, and for maintenance and operation on the basis of population. The water service of the same district is supported, including sinking fund and interest charges, by contributions, one-third of which are proportioned to valuation and two-thirds proportioned to the consumption of water.

Where out and out annexation has been resorted to, complete centralization into a single tax rate, for the whole enlarged municipality usually ensues. It is not uncommon, however, to leave the burden of previously contracted debts where it lay before annexation. In some instances, furthermore, as an inducement to outside areas to submit to annexation, provision has been made for differentials in taxation between the old city and its newly annexed portions. Baltimore, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are examples of communities in which annexation has been bought at this price. Their experience with differentials have been collected in a study of the metropolitan problem in this country, made by Paul Studensky for a Committee of the National Municipal League and soon to be published by that organization. Baltimore began it as early as 1797.

In connection with the annexation of 1888, Baltimore agreed that property in the annexed district should until 1900 be assessed and taxed at the rate prevailing in 1888, and that after that date there should be no increase except where streets and alleys had been



constructed and at least six dwellings erected on each block. This exemption was strengthened by an act of 1902 and modified in 1908 and 1920. At present in the district annexed in 1888 so-called "suburban" property pays two-thirds of the full city rate and "rural" property, that is, property not divided into blocks of less than 300,000 square feet, pays one-third. Property annexed in 1918 however was to pay 60 per cent of the full rate the first year and 2 per cent additional each year. This property is now paying about 80 per cent of the full rate or much more than a great deal of property annexed thirty years before. There has been clever gerrymandering of blocks in Baltimore and some of the best residential developments enjoy the lowest rates.

In the Philadelphia Consolidation Act of 1854, the city council was directed to discriminate between the urban and rural portions of the area so as not to charge the latter with expenses properly belonging to the built-up sections of the city. This was well enough. The distinction has, however, been perpetuated to the present day by the Act of 1868, which established three classes of property, urban, suburban and agricultural, the latter two paying two-thirds and one-half of the full rate respectively. The assessors in determining into which class property falls, class land without improvements as rural, land with streets cut through as suburban, and land for which sewer connections are provided as urban. Only about 5 per cent of the valuation of the city now represents property taxed at the lower rates. There can be little or no justification for continuing even the remnants of such a system within a city like Philadelphia.

A similar distinction in the laws relating to second-class cities was

differently applied in Pittsburgh. Agricultural land was there held to be "tracts of several acres either untillable or used mainly for growing agricultural products." Suburban real estate was defined as districts divided into large lots of unequal size, ornamented with lawns, trees, flowers, etc. On the other hand, compactly built-up districts or localities contiguous thereto and laid out into small lots partly built upon and rapidly being sold or improved were treated as urban. There were necessarily many injustices and inequalities in the employment of such distinctions. In 1910, 28 per cent of the valuation was in the suburban and agricultural classes—a situation which doubtless had much to do with the enthusiasm with which the graded tax law of 1913 was received.

#### DIFFERENTIALS QUESTIONABLE

While I am not at all prepared to admit that differentials in taxation within the same governmental unit are never justified, it is apparent that these differentials, whatever their justification at the time of their establishment, were not scientifically devised and were perpetuated long after any justification for them had passed away. They resulted ultimately in injustices in the distribution of tax burdens, which have given rise to their well-deserved condemnation.

Where municipal federation has been attempted, a portion of the tax burden is, supposedly, centralized and a portion left decentralized. In London, if we leave education out of consideration (the local charges for education are born by the Administrative County), the total expenditures of the county council and the borough councils, including the city of London, are about equal. That is, in the adjustment of functions between the

central authority and the local authority, something like a fifty-fifty arrangement was arrived at. The tax-paying capacity, however, of the London boroughs varies greatly. Westminster, with a population of 141,000, had in 1926 a rateable value of over 9,000,000 pounds, whereas the borough of Poplar, with 160,000, had a rateable value of slightly over 1,000,000 pounds. A penny rate will produce 37,000 pounds in Westminster and only 4,000 in Poplar. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Westminster rate for borough council expenses in 1925 and 1926 was eleven pence-half-penny, while the Poplar rate was approximately six shillings and eight pence. The total rate paid in Westminster for all municipal purposes was nine shillings and nine pence; the total rate paid in Poplar, twenty-three shillings. These were the rates paid, however, after the application of an elaborate scheme of equalization. The discrepancy would have been vastly greater if funds had not been created by general taxation throughout the administrative county, out of which the less financially able boroughs and poor law unions receive contributions. It is estimated that 50 per cent of the union expenses and something over 21 per cent of the borough council expenses are thus centralized.

In Greater Berlin, as set up in 1920, the city is divided into twenty administrative districts, each with its own district assembly and its own executive board. The district assemblies prepare and submit through their executive boards, to the executive board of the greater city, a report on the needs of the "municipal arrangements and institutions, which are intended primarily to serve the interests of the administrative districts." These estimates are used as a basis in prepar-

ing the municipal budget. Taxation, however, is uniform throughout the greater city, and the municipal assembly of the greater city adopts not only a budget for the greater city itself, but budgets for each of the separate administrative districts. The result is, of course, a complete financial centralization, so complete in fact as pretty well to destroy the federal character of Greater Berlin. The budgets for the administrative districts, in fact, are passed in such great detail as to leave almost no discretion to the district assemblies and executive boards in the matter of expenditure.

#### BERLIN METHOD NOT APPLICABLE HERE

Since it is proposed in Allegheny County to establish conditions of genuine federalism, the Berlin method is out of the question. No proposal of the sort would stand the slightest chance of adoption. The existing municipal units must be left free to determine their own expenditures and settle their own tax rates for local purposes. The assessment of property for taxation may be centralized and something done to cut down the excessive cost of the collection of taxes, but the local tax rate must be left in the hands of the local community. Under the plan, certain governmental costs will, of course, be centralized; main traffic highways, health, charity, certain police expenditures, etc.

One question immediately arises. Will the local units be able to sustain their local burdens? I think the answer must be "Yes." No such situation exists as that in London. The London boroughs represent, rather definitely, social divisions. Of the one hundred and twenty-three cities, boroughs and townships in Allegheny County, almost none have low valuations in company with large populations and extensive governmental prob-



lems. Many of the boroughs are very small—they run down to as low as one hundred and fifty inhabitants—but all of the very small boroughs are purely residential communities with almost negligible governmental problems. When education has been taken care of, and the Pittsburgh metropolitan project does not concern itself with education, they have no difficulty in providing the very simple services which they need. Practically all the boroughs where there is a large working class population center upon some great industrial plant, the taxation of which affords rather ample revenue. The problem which confronts us is not how to enable the boroughs to finance their local governments, but how to enable the townships, especially those of the second class, to bear the burden of increased county or metropolitan taxation. Approximately half of the 484,000 acres of county area is agricultural land. Most of it lies at considerable distances from the Golden Triangle. The London boroughs and the Berlin administrative districts are all urban in their character; have similar forms of government; possess identical powers and perform functions, which, if not identical, may be fairly set off against one another. Metropolitan Pittsburgh, or Allegheny County, has one second-class city, three third-class cities, sixty-six boroughs, twenty-six townships of the first class and twenty-nine townships of the second class.

Even this formidable enumeration does not tell the whole story. There is greater diversity between the large boroughs, which in some instances are larger than many third-class cities, and the numerous small hamlets, which have from time to time been incorporated. There is great diversity too in activities among the first-class townships. Let us consider, for a

moment, the effect of this situation on taxation. The metropolitan government may become the authority for main highways throughout the whole consolidated city. This means the transfer of the cost of constructing and maintaining of the principal through-traffic streets of the boroughs and cities, to the county in its new guise of a Metropolitan City. But in the townships the main roads are already maintained by the county. To increase the county taxes paid by the townships to pay for caring for the main traffic streets of the cities and boroughs would be, under these circumstances, something of an injustice, except to the degree that compensating advantages are conferred upon them. In any proposals for the establishment of differentials in taxation as between the different sorts of governments within Allegheny County, you will realize that we are not attempting to favor one class of population or one kind of property against another, but are merely trying to adjust taxation as between units of government of varying kinds and functions.

#### THE GRADED TAX SYSTEM

Reference has already been made to the amplitude of the grant of power in the amendment with regard to methods of taxation, and there is, I have no doubt, some speculation on the part of those interested in tax reform as to what may be done in this regard. This is particularly so because of the fact that the city of Pittsburgh has now, for some years, employed a system of taxation known as the graded tax which has excited a great deal of interest throughout the country. Under this graded tax law, land and buildings are assessed for taxation as usual, but the rate of taxation on buildings is only one-half that on land. This act was passed in

1913, and provided for the gradual reduction of the rate of taxation on land until the present proportion was reached in 1925. The present rate is twenty-five mills on land and twelve and one-half mills on buildings. As the valuations of the land and buildings are approximately equal, this means that buildings pay approximately one-third and land two-thirds of the cost of the city government. The graded tax law is supported by the "single taxers," and by a multitude of others who, while not adopting the theory of the single tax, believe that there is encouragement to community development in the diminished taxation on buildings.

There can be no doubt that such a system puts a premium upon the use of land. This fact is very evident in Pittsburgh. One would be rash to ascribe the building activity now going on in the Golden Triangle to this cause. Similar developments are common enough in growing cities where the graded tax principle is not employed. But there is obvious also a strong tendency to break up the large estates with which the well-to-do formerly surrounded their homes and to cover the vacant lots with "tax-payers." You can form your own opinion of the general social value of such results. You will agree with me, however, I am sure, that a well-devised and well-enforced zoning ordinance is essential for the direction of this accelerated impulse to build.

Theoretically the graded tax should tend to bring about the maximum development of each piece of land within the city. This tendency, however, is counteracted by other economic forces. One of these is lack of capital on the

part of landowners. The other is the nature of the demand for buildings which may have no relation to the number of buildings offered. The effect of these forces taken together has been to produce a multitude of small houses, one-story store buildings, and the like. It may even be suspected that Pittsburgh has for the moment, at any rate, been over-supplied with such buildings through the zeal of landowners to escape as best they may the heavy taxation on their land.

The relative assessed valuation of land and buildings has undergone a decided change since 1920. In the past fourteen years land has increased in valuation a scant 17.7 per cent, while building valuations have gone up 89.8 per cent. I cannot conscientiously even attempt to interpret these figures. Some will see in them the result of building activity stimulated by the graded tax. Some will see in it the natural reaction of assessors to the lower rate of buildings. One thing is plain enough, however, that buildings which paid one-third of the taxes in 1914 pay one-third of the taxes in 1928. Will the movement stop here or go on? I have been assured that the graded tax is popular in Pittsburgh by persons whose veracity I would not question. So far as my own inquiries have gone, however, it seems to be a matter of whether one owns a large lot and a small house or a small lot and a large house. Under the terms of the metropolitan plan amendment, Pittsburgh will be free to continue her experiment with graded taxation within the present city limits. There can be little doubt that this is desirable. No one would wish to interrupt such a trial within three years of its full application.

# THE BONDED DEBT OF 241 CITIES

AS AT JANUARY 1, 1929

BY C. E. RIGHTOR

*Chief Accountant, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.*

*Mr. Rightor again contributes his annual statistics of municipal debt.*

*They are becoming a national institution.*      ::      ::      ::      ::

THE accompanying tabulation reports the total gross bonded indebtedness as at January 1, 1929, of 228 cities in the United States and 13 cities in Canada, and a subdivision of this total into general public improvements, schools, and utilities; the total sinking fund, with a similar subdivision reported in percentages; the net total bonded debt; the net bonded debt to be retired from taxation (reported as "excluding self-supporting indebtedness"), total and per capita; and total gross special assessment debt.

It will be apparent that the nature of the data presented is unchanged from that of previous compilations. The cities are arranged in the order of the population estimates of the Census Bureau as at July 1, 1928; where no such estimate was available, the local estimate was used. As in former years, debt in the form of temporary loans and current accounts is omitted.

The primary purpose of the table is to indicate the total amount of bonded debt outstanding as a liability against all the property and citizens of each city, and to permit of a comparison of these data currently and in summary form. Such indebtedness includes not only the bonds issued by the city, but also, where necessary because of the various types of municipal organization, the bonds of the school district, metropolitan forest, park, port, sewer and other districts having independent bonding authority, and which are co-

terminous, or nearly so, with the city. Deviations from this procedure are indicated in the footnotes.

In theory, a complete picture of the debt outstanding against the taxable property of any city would require inclusion of a portion of the county debt, according to the relative proportion of assessed valuation, and also some portion of the state debt. Except in those cases where the city and county government are unified, however, the county debt is omitted, and the state burden is not taken into consideration in any instance, owing to the difficulty of compilation. While state debt is a liability of the total property, it is not unusual to provide for revenues from other than taxation for its retirement.

Municipal debt, on the other hand, is definitely a direct property burden, and is retired only through tax levies. The only exception is in the case of certain municipally owned and operated utilities, the revenues of which are applied to debt service. To give an accurate picture of this condition, the table includes a separate column entitled "net debt excluding self-supporting." The per capita net debt reported, therefore, is for only such portion of the indebtedness as must be retired from direct property taxation. Even here a difficulty arises, in that in a few instances it is found that the city with a revenue-producing utility may provide that such debt shall be retired by taxes in the regular course. This is



only an example of the diverse financial practices consequent upon municipal home rule, and one argument against municipal ownership. Whether the debt is retired from taxes is the only guiding factor, however, in compiling this column.

#### SPECIAL ASSESSMENT DEBT

Following last year's compilation, special assessment debt is included so far as reported. As stated then, the aggregate debt burden upon the entire property valuation of the city is believed to be more accurately indicated when special assessment debt is included. This is due to the fact that in some cities this means of financing is widely availed of for financing improvements which in other cities are financed through general faith and credit bonds. In Massachusetts, there is no special assessment debt; in California, there is a plethora.

In usual practice, it is accepted that special assessment bonds are issued upon the faith and credit of only the property in the benefited district, rather than of the entire city. While this may be evidenced even in the bond itself, the theory is largely fatuous. It is believed that few cities, if any, today, would permit such bonds to default. Cities are essentially stable and permanent, and are not wont to jeopardize their credit. More than that, we can rely upon the honesty of purpose of the citizens to meet their municipal obligations. The only result of limited district bonds is to make the borrowers pay an unnecessarily high rate of interest. With the growing demand for improvements, and for new sources of revenue to finance them, a wider use of special assessments is being resorted to, which, in turn, is straining the theory of provable benefit. As past experience is availed of to develop new principles of levying special

assessments, the extent of this form of debt will increase. It is interesting to observe, in this connection, that while the city is the fiscal agent for such debt, in some cases the financial control necessary to report the status of the debt is beyond the fiscal officer.

It should be noted that the special assessment debt is not included in the per capita net debt reported, owing to the varying practices affecting special assessments and incomplete reports of the amount.

#### SUMMARY DATA ONLY

A summary tabulation has limited uses. In comparing the debt conditions of any two cities, the detailed facts concerning each should be considered. It must be borne in mind that state laws, rather than a universally uniform procedure, govern public borrowing and reports thereof. Varying definitions of indebtedness, and varying political units to be included, are encountered. Minneapolis, for example, now issues only general city bonds, without designation as to purpose other than "permanent improvement construction." In the Chicago sanitary district, on the other hand, several bond issues were declared illegal because the specific purposes were not given. Philadelphia includes authorizations with its outstanding debt, even though the bonds are not yet sold. In some cities the sinking fund record is not kept by purposes. These illustrations indicate the difficulty of tabulating the data, though only a single purpose is in view. Attempt is made to present the figures in the most nearly uniform manner possible for comparison.

#### RANGE IN PER CAPITA DEBT

Analysis of the figures of total net debt, excluding self-supporting, shows that the city having the lowest per

capita debt is Moline, \$4.27. The highest per capita city is St. Petersburg, \$207.24. This is exclusive of Washington, which has no bonded debt. For the Canadian cities, the range is from \$44.24 for St. John, to \$264.03 for Edmonton.

The weighted average of the per capita net non-self-supporting debt for the census group I cities is \$103.37, and exclusive of New York, \$97.08. For the other census groups the weighted average is: group II, \$87.45; group III, \$78.10; group IV, \$69; and group V, \$57.78. For the Canadian cities, this average is \$116.10, which compares with \$130.60 in 1928.

These figures are of particular interest in support of the general assumption that debt increases with population. This assumption is verified in the Census Bureau's "Financial Statistics of Cities: 1926," which reports a range in net debt from an average of \$70.13 for group V cities to \$154.20 for the group I cities, self-supporting debt not being deducted. The Census Bureau figures show also that the per capita net debt is increasing definitely with time, having grown from \$44.71 in 1903 to \$128.13 in 1926, for 146 comparable cities.

A reasonable amount of debt per capita cannot be arbitrarily determined. It seems as though a city of from 30,000 to 100,000 having a net debt of \$100 per capita has not an excessive debt, although circumstances might justify a larger amount. This figure should include the debt of all overlapping districts, in due proportion.

#### RELATION TO ASSESSED VALUATION

Inasmuch as taxable property must assume the burden of amortizing the debt, and the legal limit of indebtedness is usually stated in percentage of valuation, it may be enquired why the table does not report the debt upon a

basis of \$1,000 assessed valuation. It will be clear upon reflection, however, that this would be difficult due to variations in the relation of assessed to true valuation in various cities. For those interested in such analysis, it may be stated that the assessed valuations were reported in the comparative tax rate compilation published in the REVIEW of December, 1928, and further, that the ratio of assessed to true value, according to the best estimates, was included.

#### TREND OF INDEBTEDNESS

The report from year to year upon the trend of municipal debt results only in a repetition of the finding that it is definitely upward. Comparison of the 1929 figures herewith with those of one year ago shows a gradual increase. Of ten comparable cities in group I (excluding New York, Los Angeles, Washington and Pittsburgh), the increase in total gross debt was \$146,010,928, or a per capita increase of \$12.40. Of the ten cities, nine had an increase and Cleveland alone a reduction. Los Angeles is omitted from the comparison because of the different method followed this year in reporting the city's portion of the county school and flood prevention debt.

Of the nine comparable cities in group II, six report an increase, and Newark, Jersey City, and Toledo, a reduction. New Orleans, Seattle and Portland are not included in the comparison as they were not in the group figures for 1928. The total gross debt of this group of cities increased \$7,622,425, or a per capita of \$2.23, over one year ago.

The trend of debt in the Canadian cities is highly interesting, as a contrast to the condition just reported. Of twelve cities comparable 1929 with 1928, five show a reduction in total gross debt during the year of \$22,734,-

000, while the other seven show an increase of \$9,145,000. This means a net reduction of \$13,589,000, or a per capita of \$5.81.

#### SINKING FUNDS VS. SERIAL BONDS

An attempt was made to ascertain the figures showing the proportion of the total debt which is represented by sinking fund bonds and the portion by serial bonds. In general, it may be stated that the preponderance rests with serial bonds. The classification was not always furnished, however, and it becomes a question of definition in some instances as to whether a certain issue is a serial or a sinking fund bond. This is particularly true in the case of so-called deferred serials, where the first year of payment is extended beyond three years, or in case the maturity dates are intermittent. The most that can be concluded, therefore, is that the trend is toward the serial type of bond. This is due in part to mandatory legislation in some states. Whether such legislation results in an economy to the cities, however, with the money market as it has been during the past several months, is questionable. But in any event, it assures definite and certain retirement of the outstanding bonds.

The total amount of state and municipal bonds issued during the year 1928 is reported by the *Bond Buyer* to have been \$1,382,304,635, or \$95,000,000 less than during 1927. Of the total, municipal issues probably comprised 60 per cent. The flotations would have exceeded the prior year's figures except for high money rates, which led many cities to resort to short-term financing and defer their capital issues. While the rates on money advanced during 1928, the bond prices as a whole declined a relatively small amount, and as late as December, Boston issued 20-year serials to cost the city slightly less

than 4 per cent. This stable condition is due to the intrinsic merits of the municipal bond as an investment. A good municipal bond, being wholly tax-exempt, ranks among the best of securities, not excepting our national government issues, which are taxable when held in quantities.

If any justification were needed for this gradual expansion in city debt it would be in the discerning ability of the people to approve the authorizations for needed public works. Again quoting the *Bond Buyer*, it is found that during 1928 the voters approved \$783,412,000, a large amount over any previous year, and at the same time they disapproved a much larger amount than in any other year, \$536,889,610. Voters in Chicago defeated large bond issues upon two occasions, probably because of lack of confidence in their officials rather than opposition to the improvements, some of which were under way. It might be concluded from these statistics that the increasing debt burden in our cities rests more with the voters than with the public officials. Even those in the federal government who clamored for the "same degree of economy in local government as obtains in the federal government" must cease the cry, now that the latter has reached its lowest point of appropriations and finds itself upon the upgrade.

#### GROWING INTEREST IN DEBT

That cities are concerning themselves more intensively with debt policies as their debt mounts is evidenced in several ways. Controller Berry, of New York, for example, finds his city increasing its debt at the rate of over a hundred million dollars annually, so that it is carrying an interest burden of seventy-five millions. And there is no let-up in demands, but instead, the city is confronted with an



immediate building program of \$167,000,000, exclusive of subways. The controller suggests that bond issues in any one year be limited to the redemptions of that year, and that only self-supporting improvements be financed by long-term bonds. The latter is an argument for pay-as-you-go policy, which is being given more attention in many cities. Further, cities are giving more thought to long-term financial planning, and to possible new sources of revenue as a relief to borrowing.

This is the seventh annual compilation of city debt. Requests for data were sent to 286 cities in the United States and 18 in Canada. The gratifying response of the public officials who have replied is appreciated, as only through their coöperation is the compilation possible. With the 1930 census figures available next year, it is hoped that even a larger response will be felt justified, as undoubtedly the exact status of bonded debt will be of widespread interest.

# BONDED DEBT OF 241 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1929

COMPILED BY THE DETROIT BUREAU OF GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH, INC.

From Data Furnished by Members of the Governmental Research Association, City Officials, and Chambers of Commerce

City	Census July 1, 1928	Gross Bonded Debt				Sinking Fund				Net Bonded Debt			Total gross special assessment debt
		General improvement	Public school	Public utility	Total	General improvement (per cent)	Public school (per cent)	Public utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding self-support- ing	Per capita excluding self-sup- porting		
Group I													
Population 500,000 and over													
1. New York, N. Y. <sup>1</sup>	6,017,500	\$621,195,644	\$301,374,496	\$901,781,809	\$1,824,351,949	59	..	41	\$349,707,640	\$714,853,244	\$118.80	\$83,959,000	
2. Chicago, Ill. <sup>2</sup>	3,157,400	246,988,400		8,080,000	255,068,400	..	..	..	255,068,400	255,068,400	80.78	N.	
3. Philadelphia, Pa. <sup>3</sup>	2,064,200	466,159,600	64,386,000	80,181,114	590,676,714	85	15	..	416,796,057	356,796,057	172.88*	N.	
4. Detroit, Mich. <sup>4</sup>	1,378,900	119,671,118	67,364,350	105,950,850	267,216,362	39	32	29	241,065,766	184,653,303	133.91	N.	
5. Los Angeles, Calif. <sup>5</sup>	1,300,000	34,969,175	48,183,156	33,982,500	116,135,831	..	44	56	183,439,369	103,098,945	79.31	N.	
6. Cleveland, Ohio <sup>6</sup>	1,010,300	77,020,150	28,867,000	11,951,000	118,969,650	..	17	83	121,294,085	102,907,150	101.86	17,049,981	
7. St. Louis, Mo. <sup>7</sup>	848,100	46,928,000	2,219,000	11,353,300	60,198,000	83	6	11	47,069,864	37,418,742	44.12	N.	
8. Baltimore, Md. <sup>8</sup>	830,400	117,423,250	22,430,423	30,380,370	170,234,043	88	3	9	137,069,999	111,619,312	134.42	..	
9. Boston, Mass. <sup>9</sup>	799,200	79,868,201	11,333,300	53,432,700	144,694,201	63	15	22	99,760,322	56,238,538	70.37	..	
10. Pittsburgh, Pa. <sup>10</sup>	673,800	51,998,500	21,906,350	10,435,000	84,338,850	42	52	6	81,375,588	71,117,493	105.55	3,985,386	
11. San Francisco, Calif. <sup>11</sup>	585,300	24,092,500	13,675,000	51,902,000	91,669,500	..	..	..	91,669,500	39,767,500	67.94	354,000	
12. Buffalo, N. Y. <sup>12</sup>	555,800	47,213,945	27,224,810	17,213,270	91,651,026	41	..	59	7,224,812	71,464,749	128.57	4,294,228	
13. Washington, D. C. <sup>13</sup>	552,000	No bonded debt				..	..	..			..	..	
14. Milwaukee, Wis. <sup>14</sup>	544,200	35,907,550	8,972,750	75,000	44,955,300	78	1	21	3,339,250	41,556,050	76.36	N.	
Group II													
Population 300,000 to 500,000													
15. Newark, N. J. <sup>15</sup>	473,600	\$41,497,500	\$18,169,200	\$17,762,000	\$77,428,700	55	25	20	\$63,324,956	\$48,388,751	\$102.17	\$8,050,000	
16. Minneapolis, Minn. <sup>16</sup>	455,900	22,504,077	22,223,923	4,381,500	49,109,500	60	34	6	43,939,628	39,872,218	87.46	13,643,603	
17. New Orleans, La. <sup>17</sup>	429,400	4,367,500	3,865,000	45,516,000	53,748,500	..	..	97	92,260,476	48,192,788	112.23	..	
18. Cincinnati, Ohio <sup>18</sup>	413,700	55,028,349	15,405,500	43,394,231	114,728,080	60	7	33	77,849,540	46,793,683	113.11	3,982,908	
19. Kansas City, Mo. <sup>19</sup>	391,000	19,355,355	21,519,000	13,120,000	53,994,355	32	49	19	42,451,513	31,461,309	80.46	700,000	
20. Seattle, Wash. <sup>20</sup>	382,200	9,964,000	9,964,000	39,801,500	69,269,000	100	..	..	65,880,867	26,079,367	68.06	22,628,288	
21. Indianapolis, Ind. <sup>21</sup>	382,100	15,183,600	11,221,000	N.	26,404,690	88	12	..	14,281,170	24,976,520	65.37	8,695,803	
22. Portland, Ore. <sup>22</sup>	349,400	24,396,402	9,099,475	18,637,000	52,132,877	49	40	51	45,854,984	30,402,356	89.42	7,151,350	
23. Louisville, Ky. <sup>23</sup>	329,400	20,815,400	6,966,400	1,079,000	28,860,800	80	10	10	24,562,318	23,894,564	72.54	N.	
24. Rochester, N. Y. <sup>24</sup>	328,200	23,717,000	10,579,030	12,220,500	46,516,530	26	10	64	40,700,246	32,202,061	98.12	11,221,500	
25. Jersey City, N. J. <sup>25</sup>	324,700	17,360,000	13,248,000	19,856,755	50,464,755	69	8	23	31,276,505	15,893,737	48.95	980,833	
26. Toledo, Ohio <sup>26</sup>	313,200	24,569,912	12,679,000	1,878,000	39,126,912	82	18	..	32,886,289	31,018,289	99.04	2,035,783	
Group III													
Population 100,000 to 300,000													
27. Columbus, Ohio <sup>27</sup>	299,000	\$19,923,700	\$11,206,250	\$9,583,700	\$40,712,950	80	20	..	\$16,142,922	\$24,570,028	\$64.10	..	
28. Denver, Colo. <sup>28</sup>	294,200	14,113,600	10,115,000	21,573,600	45,801,300	40	..	60	362,221	45,438,979	81.86	..	
29. Providence, R. I. <sup>29</sup>	286,300	16,793,000	7,300,000	19,413,000	43,506,000	50	15	35	28,653,479	14,491,755	50.62	N.	
30. Oakland, Calif. <sup>30</sup>	274,100	5,174,580	15,129,773	43,912,337	64,216,690	..	..	..	61,216,690	20,304,353	74.08	..	
31. St. Paul, Minn. <sup>31</sup>	260,000	13,259,000	9,546,000	7,450,000	30,255,000	76	..	24	3,369,129	26,885,871	77.88	7,900,000	

BONDED DEBT OF 241 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1929—Continued

City	Census July 1, 1928	Gross Bonded Debt			Sinking Fund			Net Bonded Debt			Total gross special assessment debt	
		General improvement	Public school	Public utility	Total	General improvement (per cent)	Public school (per cent)	Public utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding self-support- ing		Per capita excluding self-sup- porting
Group III—Continued Population 100,000 to 300,000												
32. Atlanta, Ga.	255,100	\$8,906,000	\$5,515,000	\$3,618,000	\$16,039,000	74	5	21	\$3,357,421	\$9,786,133	\$38.36	\$2,706,000
33. Akron, Ohio.	225,000	21,810,319	7,551,581	10,484,000	39,845,900	23	20	57	1,730,877	28,619,253	127.20	6,162,568
34. Omaha, Neb. <sup>23</sup>	222,800	14,314,317	10,653,250	11,392,000	36,389,567	12	16	72	31,226,464	23,559,143	105.74	6,370,500
35. Birmingham, Ala.	222,400	7,043,500	9,647,000	101,500	16,792,000	12	16	57	1,287,644	15,504,356	69.26	4,778,000
36. San Antonio, Texas	218,100	18,365,000	3,368,750	6,838,000	28,541,750	57	34	9	1,045,691	27,796,059	96.54	.....
37. Dallas, Texas	217,800	(Not reporting)	9,412,760	5,593,125	27,389,495	N.	..	..	N.	27,389,495	109.36	3,550,000
38. Syracuse, N. Y.	199,300	12,383,610	5,640,500	5,366,600	11,763,100	48	..	52	2,957,010	8,806,089	25.34	N.
39. Worcester, Mass.	197,600	5,674,500	756,000	7,363,550	36,256,630	68	13	19	9,401,940	26,851,690	109.47	N.
40. Richmond, Va. <sup>24</sup>	194,400	23,737,685	5,155,395	6,171,000	27,364,500	47	53	..	1,083,915	21,281,764	105.73	649,000
41. Memphis, Tenn.	190,200	16,010,500	5,183,000	6,737,000	12,295,000	100	..	..	1,066,772	20,109,585	59.76	N.
42. New Haven, Conn.	187,900	11,865,000	430,000	N.	12,295,000	100	..	..	1,066,772	20,109,585	59.76	N.
43. Dayton, Ohio <sup>25</sup>	184,500	10,427,009	7,577,000	7,336,000	25,340,000	80	..	20	22,548,905	15,778,715	85.52	1,593,459
44. Norfolk, Va. <sup>26</sup>	184,200	20,002,266	3,525,175	15,951,059	39,478,500	83	..	17	32,791,916	17,989,910	97.67	N.
45. Youngstown, Ohio	174,200	6,131,061	7,801,481	1,040,000	11,024,769	78	19	3	9,393,077	8,401,574	48.33	1,870,321
46. Hartford, Conn.	172,300	7,801,481	10,731,500	4,805,000	23,340,981	56	24	20	19,931,156	13,809,405	91.76	.....
47. Houston, Texas	171,000	(Not reporting)	4,924,500	5,596,000	23,150,500	46	26	28	2,577,447	15,703,474	92.05	N.
48. Fort Worth, Texas	170,600	12,630,000	5,083,000	3,873,000	14,433,000	50	..	50	1,769,407	12,663,593	58.97	6,486,400
49. Tulsa, Okla.	170,500	(Not reporting)	5,477,000	N.	14,808,000	N.	..	..	N.	14,808,000	92.55	N.
50. Grand Rapids, Mich.	161,200	10,507,000	4,301,000	3,341,000	29,777,800	87	9	4	26,571,250	23,647,900	150.91	2,916,000
51. Bridgeport, Conn.	160,000	19,056,000	7,380,800	5,450,000	19,009,532	1	..	99	18,549,887	13,553,679	89.23	N.
52. Miami, Fla. <sup>27</sup>	156,700	5,443,032	8,116,500	3,121,000	14,125,500	100	..	..	163,977	13,961,523	72.33	2,165,961
53. Des Moines, Iowa.	151,900	8,263,600	2,740,900	2,983,500	18,365,500	995.907	27	18	17,389,393	14,929,283	100.33	5,270,306
54. Springfield, Mass.	149,800	6,378,500	9,003,500	6,667,000	24,994,400	42	22	36	6,156,753	14,374,897	87.85	707,000
55. Flint, Mich.	148,000	12,891,000	5,436,400	4,548,288	19,802,152	64	26	..	2,524,181	12,729,055	87.85	707,000
56. Oklahoma City, Okla.	148,000	7,989,364	5,165,000	N.	7,603,000	20	80	..	754,900	6,848,100	47.33	983,127
57. Paterson, N. J. <sup>28</sup>	144,900	2,438,000	1,835,000	3,728,000	16,037,000	62	38	..	949,717	11,359,283	81.37	2,325,000
58. Scranton, Pa.	144,700	(Not reporting)	10,474,000	2,807,700	9,201,200	N.	..	..	N.	9,201,200	46.33	N.
59. Jacksonville, Fla.	140,700	(Not reporting)	1,835,000	3,728,000	16,037,000	N.	..	..	15,087,283	11,359,283	59.26	N.
60. Nashville, Tenn. <sup>29</sup>	139,600	(Not reporting)	1,835,000	3,728,000	16,037,000	N.	..	..	15,087,283	11,359,283	59.26	N.
61. Trenton, N. J.	139,000	(Not reporting)	1,835,000	3,728,000	16,037,000	N.	..	..	15,087,283	11,359,283	59.26	N.
62. Salt Lake City, Utah	138,000	2,984,500	3,409,000	2,807,700	9,201,200	70	21	9	2,467,449	10,581,151	70.19	3,161,000
63. Camden, N. J.	135,000	7,359,325	4,386,500	1,302,775	13,048,600	100	..	..	10,581,151	9,503,556	46.33	N.
64. Erie, Pa.	130,000	4,289,000	4,132,000	8,421,000	33,845,900	97	3	..	7,063,640	7,063,640	96.69	N.
65. Wilmington, Del. <sup>30</sup>	128,500	5,877,600	1,170,000	4,064,000	11,111,600	88	..	12	10,321,252	6,457,252	50.25	N.
66. Cambridge, Mass. <sup>31</sup>	125,800	4,090,950	3,306,500	1,500,000	4,498,450	53	3	44	1,921,797	1,218,786	78.64	N.
67. Fall River, Mass.	124,300	7,549,000	3,306,500	1,500,000	12,005,500	89	..	..	10,063,703	9,775,668	167.89	1,552,000
68. Yonkers, N. Y.	121,300	11,713,430	8,651,390	2,795,250	23,160,070	89	..	11	23,160,070	20,384,820	142.28	.....
69. Albany, N. Y. <sup>32</sup>	120,400	14,219,263	4,496,270	9,832,709	23,048,033	126.702	..	..	21,259,915	17,130,689	80.77	N.
70. San Diego, Calif. <sup>33</sup>	119,700	4,460,916	5,334,000	9,832,709	19,648,625	92	2	6	1,788,118	19,648,625	85.29	N.
71. New Bedford, Mass.	119,000	7,699,000	3,207,000	1,240,000	12,146,000	800,616	..	..	126,702	9,668,214	80.77	N.
72. Kansas City, Kan.	118,300	(Not reporting)	3,207,000	1,240,000	12,146,000	800,616	..	..	126,702	9,668,214	80.77	N.



**BONDED DEBT OF 241 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1929—Continued**

BONDED DEBT OF 241 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1929—Continued														
City	Census July 1, 1928	Gross Bonded Debt			Sinking Fund			Net Bonded Debt			Total gross special assessment debt			
		General improvement	Public school	Public utility	Total	General improvement (per cent)	Public school (per cent)	Public utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding self-supporting		Per capita excluding self-supporting		
GROUP III—Continued														
Population 100,000 to 300,000														
73. El Paso, Texas.....	117,800	\$3,389,000	\$2,379,000	\$1,459,000	\$7,227,000	\$1,252,702	47	34	19	\$5,974,298	\$4,747,437	\$40.30	\$657,000	
74. Duluth, Minn. <sup>34</sup> .....	116,800	4,288,667	4,125,000	3,257,000	11,570,667	N.	74	18	8	11,670,667	8,413,667	72.03	564,000	
75. Canton, Ohio.....	116,000	6,087,390	6,709,000	1,542,637	14,339,027	3,228,361	74	18	8	11,110,666	9,833,898	84.19	3,087,584	
76. Elizabeth, N. J.....	116,000	1,551,500	4,235,350	N.	5,786,850	511,557	..	..	..	5,275,293	5,275,293	45.50	5,364,250	
77. Reading, Pa.....	115,400	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
78. Tampa, Fla. <sup>35</sup> .....	113,400	8,428,500	5,247,000	3,062,000	16,737,500	1,748,675	90	3	7	14,988,825	11,973,516	105.59	4,506,000	
79. Lowell, Mass.....	111,000	3,442,680	1,484,250	216,750	5,143,680	N.	..	..	..	5,143,680	4,926,910	44.39	..	
80. Tacoma, Wash. <sup>36</sup> .....	110,500	4,913,500	2,482,000	7,061,507	14,457,007	2,829,988	100	..	..	11,627,019	4,565,512	41.32	2,212,508	
81. Spokane, Wash. <sup>37</sup> .....	109,100	3,048,200	2,141,000	1,662,000	6,851,200	2,104,075	34	50	16	4,657,125	3,336,920	30.59	1,588,473	
82. Long Beach, Calif. <sup>38</sup> .....	108,000	7,663,776	6,712,964	5,513,000	19,889,740	21,000	100	..	..	19,868,740	14,355,740	132.92	N.	
83. Lynn, Mass.....	105,500	3,138,100	2,330,000	1,237,500	6,705,600	651,600	21	14	65	5,236,153	5,236,153	49.63	..	
84. Knoxville, Tenn. <sup>39</sup> .....	105,400	12,860,205	2,384,000	4,712,277	20,776,482	970,888	..	..	..	19,805,624	15,093,348	143.20	2,881,561	
85. Fort Wayne, Ind.....	105,300	677,000	3,863,000	130,000	4,670,000	N.	..	..	..	4,670,000	4,540,000	43.11	1,137,678	
86. Utica, N. Y.....	104,700	7,534,852	1,895,487	N.	9,430,339	1,261,032	..	..	..	8,169,307	8,169,307	78.40	N.	
87. Somerville, Mass.....	104,700	447,000	1,807,000	N.	2,344,000	N.	..	..	..	2,344,000	2,344,000	22.82	..	
88. Waterbury, Conn.....	100,000	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
GROUP IV														
Population 50,000 to 100,000														
89. Savannah, Ga. <sup>40</sup> .....	99,900	\$1,705,000	..	\$230,000	\$4,935,000	\$202,000	72	28	..	\$4,733,000	\$4,682,249	\$46.92	\$511,998	
90. Hannibal, Mo. <sup>41</sup> .....	99,800	2,232,370	\$2,871,500	361,000	5,464,870	421,622	19	79	2	5,043,249	5,043,249	59.71	516,200	
91. Allentown, Pa.....	99,400	3,292,500	3,525,400	66,200	6,884,100	901,922	..	..	..	5,982,178	5,935,306	53.88	3,626,751	
92. Wichita, Kan.....	99,300	3,879,294	1,571,100	N.	5,450,394	100,263	100	..	..	5,350,131	5,350,131	46.40	..	
93. Evansville, Ind.....	98,100	2,120,300	3,976,200	862,000	5,444,500	130,418	100	..	..	5,314,082	4,552,082	73.84	476,369	
94. Bayonne, N. J.....	95,300	4,398,240	3,976,200	4,176,753	12,501,393	1,294,344	41	58	1	11,207,049	7,036,698	78.25	1,939,095	
95. Lawrence, Mass.....	93,500	3,095,750	1,436,500	284,000	4,816,250	32,390	94	..	6	4,783,860	4,532,250	48.47	..	
96. Wilkes-Barre, Pa.....	93,300	4,892,170	2,465,300	818,000	8,195,470	81,483	100	..	..	8,113,987	7,302,526	40.61	550,100	
97. Gary, Ind.....	91,900	3,111,000	675,000	N.	3,786,000	53,693	100	..	..	3,732,037	3,732,037	57.50	..	
98. Harrisburg, Pa.....	89,100	1,845,000	3,434,000	N.	5,279,000	156,560	100	..	..	5,122,440	5,122,440	101.65	519,200	
99. Highland Park, Mich. <sup>39</sup> .....	86,900	5,351,800	3,983,500	N.	9,120,026	501,588	20	80	..	8,833,712	8,833,712	63.27	461,825	
100. South Bend, Ind.....	86,400	2,865,400	4,945,000	990,000	8,800,400	2,346,631	51	49	17	9,773,395	5,466,769	48.64	N.	
101. Manchester, N. H.....	85,700	2,973,167	1,905,353	128,000	5,004,500	224,607	83	..	..	5,140,393	4,187,632	65.18	..	
102. Peoria, Ill.....	84,500	254,000	443,000	N.	697,000	150,000	100	..	..	4,854,500	4,728,500	55.18	..	
103. Rockford, Ill.....	82,800	1,225,000	1,896,000	300,000	2,047,000	251,500	40	40	20	1,736,400	1,546,400	18.68	..	
104. Charlotte, N. C.....	82,100	4,168,934	1,477,554	1,477,554	7,542,488	172,604	100	..	..	7,369,884	5,862,330	71.14	56,600	
105. Shreveport, La.....	81,300	3,452,800	2,380,000	50,000	8,730,800	596,748	41	57	2	8,678,800	3,293,252	41.17	4,928,000	
106. Sioux City, Iowa.....	80,000	2,015,000	1,865,000	30,000	3,890,000	596,748	41	57	2	3,293,252	3,293,252	165.19	10,880	
107. Winston-Salem, N. C. <sup>40</sup> .....	80,000	11,180,138	2,308,000	3,342,862	16,831,000	273,022	100	..	..	13,215,116	13,215,116	10.88	1,036,000	
108. Lansing, Mich. <sup>41</sup> .....	79,600	1,000,000	5,400	4,804,900	5,870,300	1,094,737	13	..	87	4,775,563	865,974	47.73	5,750,000*	
109. Little Rock, Ark.....	79,200	1,839,000	1,965,500	N.	3,804,500	24,267	100	..	..	3,780,233	3,780,233	..	..	

BONDED DEBT OF 241 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1929—Continued

City	Census July 1, 1928	Gross Bonded Debt			Sinking Fund				Net Bonded Debt			Total gross special assessment debt
		General improvement	Public school	Public utility	Total	General improvement (per cent)	Public school (per cent)	Public utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding self-support- ing	Per capita excluding self-sup- porting	
Group IV—Continued Population 60,000 to 100,000												
111. Portland, Me.	78,600	(Not reporting)			\$9,342,790	17	18	65	\$8,690,950	\$5,115,955	\$67.40	\$2,187,000
112. St. Joseph, Mo.	78,500	(Not reporting)			13,822,790	..	..	..	13,822,790	10,594,940	139.95	2,753,190
113. Charleston, S. C. <sup>42</sup>	75,900	\$4,805,000	\$543,000	\$4,000,000								N.
114. Sacramento, Calif.	75,700	5,227,540	3,367,000	3,228,250								
115. Saginaw, Mich.	75,600	(Not reporting)			6,990,275	100	..	..	221,233	6,684,037	89.36	
116. Binghamton, N. Y.	74,800	3,401,500	3,503,775	85,000	4,994,000	..	..	..	276,000	3,550,000	47.45	
117. Racine, Wis.	74,400	1,482,000	2,324,000	1,030,000	4,836,000	51	49	..	3,658,273	3,508,273	49.30	420,700
118. Chester, Pa.	74,200	3,159,000	1,835,000	N.	4,994,000	100	..	..	3,104,728	3,104,728	41.96	2,500,000
119. East St. Louis, Ill. <sup>43</sup>	74,000	2,958,000	675,000	N.	3,273,000	100	..	..	8,936,606	8,936,606	121.26	
120. Johnston, Pa.	73,700	4,773,500	4,630,000	N.	9,403,500	100	..	..	9,840,676	9,840,676	133.89	254,447
121. Chattanooga, Tenn.	73,500	7,726,700	2,393,500	N.	10,120,200	100	..	..	8,519,949	6,964,642	95.28	
122. Terre Haute, Ind.	73,500	(Not reporting)			2,763,051	79	..	30	2,846,807	2,236,807	30.64	1,062,149
123. Pawtucket, R. I. <sup>44</sup>	73,100	1,681,250	610,000	3,693,742	846,935	80	11	..	6,423,204	5,330,762	73.22	N.
124. Springfield, Ohio	73,000	2,581,000	3,253,000	1,265,000	7,049,000	48	24	28	6,362,634	4,819,759	66.66	
125. New Britain, Conn.	72,800	3,667,555	1,152,204	1,542,875	6,362,634	..	..	..	9,525,210	6,345,210	88.37	
126. Troy, N. Y.	72,300	3,067,555	2,396,250	3,180,000	10,317,311	66	34	..	5,286,240	5,122,874	72.05	1,992,999
127. Passaic, N. J.	71,800	4,741,061	2,396,250	3,180,000	10,317,311	29	..	71	6,131,275	5,860,550	82.54	2,832,000
128. Cicero, Ill.	71,600	(Not reporting)			7,696,314	55	..	..	737,598	737,598	10.39	215,228
129. Lincoln, Neb. <sup>45</sup>	71,100	564,043	4,626,000	330,600	5,520,643	..	..	..				
130. Hoboken, N. J.	71,000	3,770,678	3,991,636	334,000	7,696,314	..	..	..				
131. Berkeley, Calif. <sup>46</sup>	71,000	368,998	369,000		737,998	..	..	..				
132. Mobile, Ala.	69,600	(Not reporting)				..	..	..				
133. Altona, Pa.	69,100	(Not reporting)				59	..	41	463,822	1,406,178	20.48	66,030
134. Wheeling, W. Va.	68,660	1,649,000	30,000	2,000,000	3,679,000	..	..	..				
135. Huntington, W. Va.	68,600	(Not reporting)				..	..	..				
136. Niagara Falls, N. Y.	68,300	5,486,700	5,906,129	1,957,530	13,350,359	..	..	100	13,264,860	11,392,829	166.81	
137. Bethlehem, Pa.	67,600	2,404,500	3,934,900	1,460,000	7,799,400	40	60	..	6,243,243	4,833,243	72.24	N.
138. Quincy, Mass.	67,600	2,031,500	2,278,000	778,000	5,087,500	..	..	..	5,087,500	4,309,500	63.75	226,000
139. Springfield, Ill.	67,200	(Not reporting)				..	..	..				
140. Brockton, Mass.	65,300	1,809,400	623,250	1,499,500	3,932,150	..	..	100	3,311,253	2,432,650	37.25	
141. East Orange, N. J.	65,000	3,010,510	2,359,245	1,477,000	6,846,755	20	27	53	5,301,823	4,639,854	71.38	4,127,472
142. Lakewood, Ohio	65,000	3,802,000	4,486,000	203,500	8,491,500	100	..	..	7,832,054	7,628,554	117.36	1,022,616
143. Roanoke, Va.	64,600	4,747,000	2,650,000	N.	7,397,000	..	..	..	6,590,387	6,590,387	102.02	
144. Union City, N. J.	64,400	1,807,902	2,248,500	N.	4,056,402	74	26	..	3,534,373	3,534,373	54.88	419,704
145. Fresno, Calif.	64,000	6,299,000	3,885,500	N.	4,514,000	..	..	..	4,514,000	4,514,000	70.53	
146. Jackson, Mich.	63,700	2,166,729	2,644,000	1,064,375	5,875,104	76	..	24	5,595,165	4,598,277	72.19	766,000
147. Montgomery, Ala.	63,100	(Not reporting)				..	..	..				
148. Topock, Kan. <sup>47</sup>	62,800	3,962,334	928,200	575,000	5,465,534	54	12	34	5,141,252	4,678,158	74.49	
149. Pasadena, Calif. <sup>48</sup>	62,100	5,132,102	4,003,954	1,928,148	11,064,204	32	38	30	8,765,569	8,765,569	141.15	2,457,113
150. Portsmouth, Va.	61,600	5,292,500	920,000	2,950,000	9,162,500	36	..	64	7,897,861	5,760,584	93.52	
151. Pontiac, Mich.	61,500	2,747,400	2,885,585	1,678,000	7,310,985	23	64	13	6,507,897	4,930,063	80.16	1,568,100

BONDED DEBT OF 241 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1929—Continued

City	Census July 1, 1928	Gross Bonded Debt				Sinking Fund				Net Bonded Debt			Total gross special assessment debt
		General improvement	Public school	Public utility	Total	General improvement (per cent)	Public school (per cent)	Public utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding self-support- ing	Per capita excluding self-sup- porting		
Group IV—Continued Population 50,000 to 100,000													
152. Macon, Ga.	61,200	\$605,000	\$778,000	\$520,000	\$2,480,000	83	..	17	N.	\$2,480,000	\$32.03	\$577,000	
153. Holyoke, Mass.	60,400	2,235,500	N.	2,264,100	4,499,500	..	..	..	\$271,344	2,235,500	37.01	..	
154. Covington, Ky.	59,000	(Not reporting)	3,236,000	305,000	5,160,000	10	90	..	446,539	4,713,461	..	..	
155. Lancaster, Pa. <sup>48</sup>	58,300	1,930,000	1,508,000	305,000	3,545,200	14	44	..	N.	3,545,200	55.67	..	
156. Cedar Rapids, Iowa	58,025	2,872,500	1,923,000	982,000	5,737,500	..	..	42	306,989	4,619,163	79.61	N.	
157. Wichita Falls, Texas	58,000	387,500	1,631,000	160,000	2,181,500	95	..	5	N.	2,020,500	35.02	..	
158. Oak Park, Ill.	57,700	3,454,500	2,084,000	446,000	5,984,500	..	..	..	851,256	5,133,244	82.59	..	
159. Newton, Mass.	57,300	(Not reporting)	304,000	..	3,285,000	..	..	..	389,455	2,895,545	..	..	
160. Decatur, Ill.	57,100	2,981,000	2,693,000	207,000	3,157,000	15	85	..	N.	3,157,000	50.62	..	
161. Augusta, Ga. <sup>48</sup>	56,700	197,000	2,467,000	885,500	2,602,000	47	27	26	68,355	2,533,645	43.89	1,223,442	
162. Kenosha, Wis.	56,500	76,500	..	..	7,924,038	..	..	..	602,603	7,321,435	117.69	N.	
163. Kalamazoo, Mich.	56,400	4,517,000	2,553,538	835,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
164. Beaumont, Texas	56,300	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
165. Hammond, Ind.	56,000	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
166. Charleston, W. Va.	55,200	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
167. Atlantic City, N. J.	54,700	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
168. Mount Vernon, N. Y.	54,700	5,902,000	3,349,050	2,268,000	11,419,050	100	..	..	441,413	10,977,637	159.23	..	
169. Malden, Mass.	53,400	1,702,200	1,250,000	40,000	2,992,200	92	..	8	271,891	2,720,309	50.62	N.	
170. Woonsocket, R. I.	53,400	6,511,000	1,292,000	1,495,000	9,298,000	73	5	22	1,490,041	7,807,359	124.60	..	
171. Newport News, Va.	53,300	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
172. St. Petersburg, Fla. <sup>49</sup>	53,300	7,584,858	4,455,750	4,294,000	16,334,608	83	17	..	994,333	11,046,275	207.24	14,052,000	
173. Medford, Mass.	52,900	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
174. New Castle, Pa.	52,900	1,095,000	2,470,000	N.	3,565,000	94	6	..	75,737	3,489,263	66.46	365,855	
175. Davenport, Iowa	52,470	1,402,300	996,000	N.	2,398,300	100	..	..	35,207	2,363,093	45.04	769,114	
176. Greensboro, N. C.	51,900	2,790,370	993,000	2,612,630	6,396,000	68	..	22	387,706	6,008,294	67.84	4,678,800	
177. Springfield, Mo.	51,700	881,000	613,500	N.	1,494,500	28	72	..	176,188	1,318,312	25.50	..	
178. Stockton, Calif. <sup>50</sup>	51,700	2,715,675	..	417,000	3,132,675	..	..	..	N.	3,132,675	53.25	..	
179. East Chicago, Ind.	50,800	330,000	1,281,000	1,941,000	3,552,000	100	..	..	685,365	2,866,635	18.22	1,909,005	
180. Columbia, S. C. <sup>50</sup>	50,600	2,031,000	1,073,000	706,000	2,737,000	13	..	87	119,571	2,617,429	161.12	213,000	
181. Galveston, Texas	50,500	7,438,500	793,000	930,500	9,304,500	74	17	9	392,589	8,911,911	82.66	473,000	
182. Madison, Wis.	50,400	2,467,000	1,916,000	606,000	4,989,000	41	33	26	280,850	4,708,150	..	482,000	
183. McKeesport, Pa.	50,400	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
184. Perth Amboy, N. J. <sup>51</sup>	50,100	628,500	1,604,000	2,770,000	5,002,500	29	32	39	876,207	4,126,293	33.97	473,000	
185. Elmira, N. Y.	50,000	1,633,500	598,000	1,040,000	3,271,500	..	..	..	N.	2,231,500	44.63	..	
186. Pittsfield, Mass.	50,000	1,007,400	483,000	675,000	2,165,400	..	..	..	..	2,165,400	29.81	N.	
Group V Population 30,000 to 50,000													
187. York, Pa.	49,900	\$1,546,000	\$831,000	N.	\$2,377,000	87	..	13	\$505,046	\$1,871,954	\$37.51	N.	
188. Chelsea, Mass.	49,800	1,858,750	1,185,500	N.	3,044,250	58	42	..	511,109	2,533,141	50.87	N.	
189. Lima, Ohio <sup>52</sup>	49,700	3,474,482	953,002	\$978,500	5,405,984	91	..	9	129,604	5,276,380	86.70	\$1,361,989	



BONDED DEBT OF 241 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1929—Continued

City	Census July 1, 1928	Gross Bonded Debt				Sinking Fund				Net Bonded Debt			Total gross special assessment debt
		General improvement	Public school	Public utility	Total	Total	General improvement (per cent)	Public school (per cent)	Public utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding self-support- ing	Per capita excluding self-sup- porting	
GROUP V—Continued Population 30,000 to 50,000													
190. Bay City, Mich.	49,600	\$486,000	\$1,930,000	\$1,864,000	\$4,280,000	\$869,754	37	55	8	\$3,410,246	\$1,615,719	32.57	\$165,000
191. Haverhill, Mass.	49,230	1,002,000	343,000	138,000	1,503,000	29,000	76	24	..	1,474,000	1,316,000	26.73	N.
192. New Rochelle, N. Y.	48,800	4,262,998	4,485,676	N.	8,758,674	242,621	100	..	..	8,516,053	8,516,053	174.51	774,421
193. Lexington, Ky.	48,700	1,444,570	708,000	..	2,212,570	478,709	83	17	..	1,733,861	1,733,861	35.60	203,239
194. Evanston, Ill.	47,600	637,000	..	356,000	993,000	N.	..	..	..	993,000	637,000	..	..
195. Durham, N. C.	47,600	5,459,987	1,729,913	3,641,000	10,830,000	733,796	33	62	5	10,096,204	6,455,204	135.61	..
196. Battle Creek, Mich.	47,200	1,177,500	749,856	N.	1,927,356	N.	..	..	..	1,927,356	1,177,500	24.95	..
197. Aurora, Ill.	47,100	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..
198. Muncie, Ind.	46,800	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..
199. Columbus, Ga.	46,800	1,331,500	505,600	240,000	2,077,100	51,112	100	..	..	2,026,000	1,785,988	38.33	..
200. Waco, Texas	46,600	2,311,500	1,410,500	1,796,000	5,518,000	1,039,263	45	20	35	4,478,737	3,041,816	65.28	..
201. Muskegon, Mich.	46,600	1,312,000	1,965,000	449,500	3,726,500	150,514	100	..	..	3,575,986	3,425,472	73.51	1,042,650
202. Jamestown, N. Y. <sup>53</sup>	46,000	1,471,424	1,950,000	1,103,500	4,524,924	77,121	..	..	100	4,447,803	3,421,424	74.38	654,590
203. Brookline, Mass.	45,700	600,600	736,600	429,100	1,856,300	N.	..	..	..	1,856,300	1,427,200	31.23	..
204. San Jose, Calif.	45,500	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..
205. Chicago, Mass.	45,000	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..
206. Fitchburg, Mass.	45,000	1,579,600	463,000	717,900	2,760,500	N.	..	..	..	2,760,500	2,042,600	45.19	N.
207. Austin, Texas	45,135	873,000	1,031,000	1,024,000	2,928,000	99,178	..	..	..	2,828,822	1,804,822	39.99	..
208. Lorain, Ohio	44,900	1,544,326	1,525,725	597,000	3,667,051	451,831	70	2	28	3,212,220	2,741,690	61.06	980,208
209. Pueblo, Colo.	44,200	1,968,000	1,394,000	1,425,000	3,788,000	92,485	63	37	..	3,696,515	2,271,515	51.39	1,872,300
210. Hamilton, Ohio <sup>54</sup>	44,200	1,396,365	1,094,639	1,591,950	4,082,954	662,268	88	12	..	3,420,686	1,828,736	41.37	649,021
211. Williamsport, Pa.	44,000	680,100	1,370,000	N.	2,050,100	447,219	50	50	..	1,602,881	1,602,881	36.43	91,000
212. Stamford, Conn.	43,800	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..
213. Butte, Mont.	43,600	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..
214. Everett, Mass.	43,300	1,471,800	1,067,000	118,000	2,656,800	422,195	100	..	..	2,234,605	2,116,605	48.83	..
215. Salem, Mass.	43,000	385,000	746,500	409,500	2,091,500	N.	..	..	..	2,091,500	1,682,000	39.11	..
216. Rock Island, Ill.	42,700	385,000	375,000	N.	770,000	N.	..	..	..	770,000	770,000	18.03	1,470,410
217. Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	42,500	1,291,430	1,301,050	847,000	3,439,480	71,639	93	7	..	3,367,841	2,520,841	59.31	1,442,613
218. Dubuque, Iowa <sup>55</sup>	42,300	1,286,413	1,316,000	691,500	3,293,913	100,491	89	11	..	3,193,422	2,938,095	69.46	444,350
219. Council Bluffs, Iowa	42,300	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..
220. Phoenix, Ariz.	42,100	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..
221. Joliet, Ill.	41,900	915,500	1,780,000	N.	2,695,000	N.	..	..	..	2,695,000	2,695,000	64.33	1,043,800
222. Portsmouth, Ohio	41,200	1,443,724	1,726,100	2,007,500	5,177,324	425,798	33	45	22	4,051,526	2,740,726	66.51	1,483,649
223. West New York, N. J. <sup>56</sup>	40,900	1,565,997	2,626,500	N.	4,192,497	1,002,669	100	..	..	3,189,828	3,189,828	77.99	893,000
224. New Brunswick, N. J.	40,800	1,918,000	1,622,000	1,153,000	4,693,000	95,960	100	..	..	4,597,040	3,444,040	84.41	25,000
225. Taunton, Mass. <sup>56</sup>	40,600	531,000	794,000	1,875,500	3,200,500	639,500	5	2	93	2,561,000	1,285,204	31.66	547,000
226. Kokomo, Ind.	40,400	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..
227. Quincy, Ill.	39,800	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..
228. Superior, Wis.	39,670	790,000	1,294,000	N.	2,084,000	161,640	47	53	..	1,922,360	1,922,360	48.46	11,675
229. East Cleveland, Ohio	39,400	2,092,900	3,682,000	N.	5,774,000	942,941	..	..	..	4,831,059	4,831,059	122.62	1,384,598
230. Wilmington, N. C.	39,100	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..	..	(Not reporting)	(Not reporting)	..	..

BONDED DEBT OF 241 CITIES AS AT JANUARY 1, 1929—Continued

City	Census July 1, 1928	Gross Bonded Debt			Sinking Fund			Net Bonded Debt			Total gross special assessment debt	
		General improvement	Public school	Public utility	Total	General improvement (per cent)	Public school (per cent)	Public utility (per cent)	Total	Excluding self-support- ing		Per capita excluding self-sup- porting
GROUP V—Continued Population 50,000 to 50,000												
231. Ogden, Utah.....	39,100	(Not reporting)	\$645,000	N.	\$979,544	..	..	..	\$979,544	\$979,544	\$25.25	\$1,168,456
232. Danville, Ill.....	38,800	\$334,544	1,046,602	\$1,828,000	5,391,926	67	..	33	4,184,989	2,856,989	74.02	N.
233. Lynchburg, Va. <sup>52</sup> .....	38,600	2,517,324	(Not reporting)	N.	3,180,000	37	63	..	3,014,610	3,014,610	78.71	N.
234. Easton, Pa.....	38,400	1,643,000	1,537,000	500,000	4,609,000	..	..	..	3,259,421	2,759,421	73.00	N.
235. Hazleton, Pa.....	38,300	3,309,000	800,000	N.	2,757,000	..	..	..	2,337,442	2,337,442	62.33	N.
236. Petersburg, Va.....	37,800	1,094,000	1,663,000	N.	1,450,000	..	..	..	1,450,000	1,450,000	39.08	N.
237. Cranston, R. I.....	37,500	(Not reporting)	990,000	N.	2,255,000	100	..	..	1,068,000	643,000	17.57	N.
238. Waterloo, Iowa.....	37,100	460,000	95,000	425,000	888,831	43	28	29	3,515,169	3,284,350	89.98	N.
239. Meriden, Conn.....	37,100	773,000	1,537,000	4,004,000	126,655	41	59	..	4,855,745	3,047,745	84.19	476,000
240. Waltham, Mass.....	37,100	1,341,000	1,833,400	1,808,000	3,171,985	..	..	..	2,982,147	.....	.....	798,720
241. Lewiston, Me.....	36,600	(Not reporting)	2,021,085	1,150,900	3,171,985	..	..	..	4,867,500	1,952,000	54.22	362,100
242. Orange, N. J.....	36,500	830,000	1,122,000	2,929,500	14,000	100	..	..	1,993,380	1,754,880	48.75	N.
243. Clifton, N. J.....	36,200	697,060	1,057,820	238,500	1,993,380	..	..	..	1,890,065	1,041,585	29.19	N.
244. Amsterdam, N. Y.....	36,200	(Not reporting)	1,230,585	189,000	41,521	100	..	100	192,095	152,095	4.27	179,230
245. Norristown, Pa.....	36,200	979,585	62,000	40,000	201,000	..	..	..	744,000	714,000	20.34	216,000
246. Warren, Ohio <sup>50</sup> .....	36,100	10,000	151,000	30,000	356,963	82	18	..	4,349,857	4,349,857	125.72	1,798,843
247. Green Bay, Wis.....	36,000	2,392,670	2,314,150	N.	537,095	21	..	79	3,102,805	882,905	158.04	.....
248. Colorado Springs, Colo.....	36,000	(Not reporting)	1,420,000	2,219,900	9,327,831	23	70	7	8,312,020	5,325,844	68.83	232,057
249. Revere, Mass.....	36,000	1,277,531	4,994,500	3,055,800	1,015,811	53	46	1	3,405,172	2,319,603	27.05	N.
250. Elgin, Ill.....	36,000	1,286,835	1,175,500	1,086,000	143,163	..	..	..	1,333,000	898,000	62.50	342,496
251. Auburn, N. Y.....	35,700	(Not reporting)	2,219,900	435,000	1,810,021	44	24	32	2,367,072	2,075,072	67.70	275,450
252. Moline, Ill.....	35,600	1,062,350	1,312,103	234,000	49,995	..	..	..	255,050	2,200,266	103.89	3,731
253. Sheboygan, Wis.....	35,600	1,765,000	1,802,000	N.	168,187	61	39	..	3,376,458	3,376,458	25.82	383,000
254. Irvington, N. J.....	35,600	268,291	1,502,431	115,238	951,950	41	53	6	7,898,234	3,424,490	106.68	.....
255. Anderson, Ind.....	34,600	1,923,000	2,128,500	4,506,903	680,169	..	..	..	1,927,427	1,727,927	54.17	544,943
256. Cumberland, Md. <sup>50</sup> .....	34,400	(Not reporting)	1,923,000	2,128,500	680,169	..	..	..	1,927,427	1,727,927	54.17	544,943
257. Montclair, N. J.....	33,700	1,277,531	4,994,500	3,055,800	1,015,811	..	..	..	2,090,070	199,500	17	.....
258. Watertown, N. Y.....	33,700	1,286,835	1,175,500	1,086,000	143,163	..	..	..	2,090,070	199,500	17	.....
259. Marion, Ohio.....	33,400	(Not reporting)	2,219,900	435,000	1,810,021	..	..	..	2,090,070	199,500	17	.....
260. Oakshosh, Wis.....	33,300	383,000	515,000	874,000	4,177,093	..	..	..	2,090,070	199,500	17	.....
261. Muskogee, Okla.....	33,200	2,298,093	1,005,000	874,000	4,177,093	..	..	..	2,090,070	199,500	17	.....
262. Port Arthur, Texas.....	33,000	(Not reporting)	1,062,350	1,312,103	234,000	..	..	..	2,090,070	199,500	17	.....
263. Steubenville, Ohio <sup>50</sup> .....	32,600	1,062,350	1,312,103	234,000	2,608,453	..	..	..	2,608,453	168,187	..	.....
264. Mansfield, Ohio.....	32,500	1,765,000	1,802,000	N.	3,567,000	..	..	..	3,567,000	190,542	..	.....
265. Plainfield, N. J.....	32,500	268,291	1,502,431	115,238	951,950	..	..	..	951,950	N.	..	.....
266. Alameda, Calif.....	32,400	1,923,000	2,128,500	4,506,903	680,169	..	..	..	680,169	680,169	..	.....
267. Kearny, N. J.....	32,400	(Not reporting)	1,923,000	2,128,500	4,506,903	..	..	..	4,506,903	4,506,903	..	.....
268. Fort Smith, Ark.....	32,100	(Not reporting)	1,923,000	2,128,500	4,506,903	..	..	..	4,506,903	4,506,903	..	.....
269. Asheville, N. C.....	32,000	(Not reporting)	1,923,000	2,128,500	4,506,903	..	..	..	4,506,903	4,506,903	..	.....
270. Hagerstown, Md.....	32,000	(Not reporting)	1,923,000	2,128,500	4,506,903	..	..	..	4,506,903	4,506,903	..	.....
271. Middletown, Ohio.....	31,900	703,570	1,117,000	199,500	2,020,070	83	17	..	92,644	92,644	..	.....





NOTES.—The cities are arranged in order of population, according to the 1928 (July 1) estimates by the Bureau of the Census, with exceptions noted by that Bureau. Population of Canadian cities is as estimated for 1928, when available.

- \* Estimated. N = None.
- <sup>1</sup> *New York*. Utility bonds include \$446,109,889 rapid transit subway bonds, and \$155,985,592 dock bonds. General sinking funds include schools. Sinking fund resources show a surplus of \$36,505,822 over amortization reserves. General bonds include \$100,606,700 sanitary district bonds, 92½ per cent of total debt of the district, based upon proportion of taxable values within the city. Debt does not include county or forest preserve district (so-extensive with county) bonds, \$33,450,000. 91 per cent of taxable values of the county are within the city. Utility bonds include water, \$430,000, and street lighting, \$7,650,000.
- <sup>2</sup> *Philadelphia*. Includes city and county; general and utility debt not separated. Self-supporting debt is estimated.
- <sup>3</sup> *Detroit*. Utility bonds include street railway, \$22,672,000, and lighting, \$16,863,000; in addition to the debt there is a street railway purchase contract for \$10,026,480.
- <sup>4</sup> *Los Angeles*. Census is local estimate; utility bonds include light and power, \$40,627,000, and harbor (not self-supporting), \$22,446,000; school bonds are issued by the county, amount reported being city's pro-rated share based on valuations. Debt does not include flood control (county), \$8,712,894.
- <sup>5</sup> *Cleveland*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$7,105,000.
- <sup>6</sup> *Baltimore*. General bonds include airport, \$1,500,000; utility bonds include Western Maryland Railroad, \$1,875,000. Utility bonds include rapid transit, \$52,494,700; county debt, which is paid by Boston, not included; special assessment bonds are not kept separately.
- <sup>7</sup> *San Francisco*. General bonds include 1915 Exposition, \$2,000,000; utility bonds include street railway, \$2,902,000. Debt does not include metropolitan sewerage commission, \$19,243,000, 79 per cent of which is paid by the city.
- <sup>8</sup> *Milwaukee*. Debt does not include levee district bonds, \$1,037,500, or Public Belt Railroad debt; utility bonds include light and power, \$50,000, wharves and docks, \$768,500, and market, \$25,000.
- <sup>9</sup> *Minneapolis*. Debt does not include levee district bonds, \$1,037,500, or Public Belt Railroad debt; utility bonds include port, \$41,516,000.
- <sup>10</sup> *New Orleans*. Debt does not include levee district bonds, \$1,037,500, or Public Belt Railroad debt; utility bonds include rapid transit, \$6,100,000, airport, \$500,000, and Cincinnati Southern Railway, \$21,832,000; rental revenues of the latter yield \$1,250,000, which more than pays interest and sinking fund charges on this debt.
- <sup>11</sup> *Kansas City*. Special assessment debt is in the form of certificates which are not obligations of the city; school debt includes library, \$250,000.
- <sup>12</sup> *Seattle*. Utility includes light and power, \$24,227,000, and street railway, \$10,474,500.
- <sup>13</sup> *Portland*. Census is local estimate; utility bonds include golf links, \$155,000; general debt includes docks, \$3,555,000, and city's portion (93.9 per cent) of port, \$1,509,000; school bonds are 97.4 per cent of total as city's portion; the city's portion (91.6 per cent) of county debt, \$8,525,000 is not included.
- <sup>14</sup> *Louisville*. Sinking fund owns also the entire capital stock of the Louisville Water Company, per value \$1,275,100, real value at least \$25,000,000.
- <sup>15</sup> *Jersey City*. Utility bonds include dock, \$251,000.
- <sup>16</sup> *Columbus*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$1,872,000; separation of sinking funds as between general and utility is estimated.
- <sup>17</sup> *Denver*. Includes city and county; general debt includes city's portion of Moffat Tunnel, \$13,613,600.
- <sup>18</sup> *Oakland*. Utility bonds include city's portion, \$28,912,337, of water district bonds, and \$5,000,000 harbor bonds. Debt does not include county bonds for Estuary Tube, \$3,375,000, and Highland Hospital, \$1,800,000, of which city pays 62 per cent.
- <sup>19</sup> *St. Paul*. Special assessment debt is a permanent improvement revolving fund.
- <sup>20</sup> *Owaha*. Utility bonds include gas, \$1,500,000.
- <sup>21</sup> *Richmond*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$300,000, and gas, \$3,758,550.
- <sup>22</sup> *Dayton*. Utility includes sewage treatment plant, \$2,583,000.
- <sup>23</sup> *Norfolk*. Utility bonds include port, \$6,519,948.
- <sup>24</sup> *Miami*. Utility bonds include street railway, \$1,100,000; school bonds are of separate school districts of somewhat greater territory.
- <sup>25</sup> *Puterson, West New York*. General debt includes temporary debt.
- <sup>26</sup> *Nashville*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$233,000.
- <sup>27</sup> *Wilmington*. Utility bonds include harbor, \$2,650,000.
- <sup>28</sup> *Cambridge, Pennsylvania*. General debt includes schools.
- <sup>29</sup> *Albany, Kentucky*. General sinking fund includes school sinking funds.
- <sup>30</sup> *San Diego*. School bonds issued by county; sinking funds not segregated.
- <sup>31</sup> *Duluth*. Utility bonds include gas, \$1,086,000.
- <sup>32</sup> *Pampa*. Debt as of February 28, 1929; school bonds are for county school district, extending beyond city limits.
- <sup>33</sup> *Tacoma*. Utility bonds include light and power and street railway, \$3,446,000.
- <sup>34</sup> *Spokane*. Utility bonds include crematory, \$70,000.
- <sup>35</sup> *Long Beach*. Utility bonds include gas, \$3,918,000.
- <sup>36</sup> *Honolulu*. General sinking fund includes utility sinking fund.
- <sup>37</sup> *Hamtramck, Michigan*. Utility bonds include market, \$340,000.
- <sup>38</sup> *Winston-Salem*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$3,594,900.
- <sup>39</sup> *Lansing*. Utility bonds include port, \$2,500,000.
- <sup>40</sup> *Charleston*. Utility bonds include separate park district, \$1,462,000; debt of east side levee and sanitary district not included.
- <sup>41</sup> *East St. Louis*. General bonds include separate park district, \$1,462,000; school debt is for separate district of larger territory than city.
- <sup>42</sup> *Lynchburg*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$200,000; school debt is for separate district not reported.
- <sup>43</sup> *Topkeda*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$40,000.
- <sup>44</sup> *Berkley*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$762,700.
- <sup>45</sup> *Pasadena*. General debt includes utility.
- <sup>46</sup> *Lancaster, Augusta*. Utility debt includes power, \$535,000, street railway, \$1,130,000, and gas, \$1,043,000.
- <sup>47</sup> *St. Petersburg*. Utility debt includes power, \$535,000, street railway, \$1,130,000, and gas, \$1,043,000. Schools not reported.
- <sup>48</sup> *Savannah, Georgia*. Utility debt includes light and power, \$103,000, and harbor, \$103,000.
- <sup>49</sup> *Perth Amboy*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$35,000.
- <sup>50</sup> *Lima*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$828,000, and gas, \$327,950.
- <sup>51</sup> *Jamestown*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$190,000, and market, \$35,000.
- <sup>52</sup> *Dubuque*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$347,000.
- <sup>53</sup> *Tanulion*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$836,500, street railway, \$13,000, and sewer, \$547,000.
- <sup>54</sup> *Montreal*. Utility bonds include underground conduits, \$3,300,000; general sinking fund includes utility.
- <sup>55</sup> *Toronto*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$25,454,115, street railway, \$39,706,548, abator, \$294,000, exhibition, \$2,936,089, ferries, \$169,000, housing, \$632,000, and radials, \$2,482,019; school debt includes separate (Roman Catholic) school board, \$2,390,000, paid from taxes of supporters.
- <sup>56</sup> *Winnipeg*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$18,327,000, housing, \$2,650,000, and steam heating system, \$1,100,000.
- <sup>57</sup> *Hamilton*. Utility bonds include light and power, \$2,775,683.
- <sup>58</sup> *Quebec*. School debt includes Roman Catholic, \$5,224,000; and Protestant, \$180,000.
- <sup>59</sup> *Ottawa*. Utility debt includes light and power, \$953,374.
- <sup>60</sup> *Edmonton*. Utility debt includes light and power, \$3,548,375, street railway, \$3,047,696, and telephone, \$2,374,480.
- <sup>61</sup> *Windsor*. Utility debt includes light and power, \$1,808,341, and street railway, \$1,244,907; school debt includes \$1,035,490, Roman Catholic school debt.
- <sup>62</sup> *St. John*. Utility debt includes light and power, \$726,036, ferry, \$225,279, and market, \$70,000.
- <sup>63</sup> *Victoria*. Utility debt includes housing, \$124,100.
- <sup>64</sup> *Regina*. Utility debt includes light and power, \$1,829,307, and street railway, \$1,706,718.
- <sup>65</sup> *Saskatoon*. Utility debt includes light and power, \$1,915,947, and street railway, \$981,919.

## RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

DIE DEUTSCHEN STÄDTE: IHRE ARBEIT VON 1918 BIS 1928. Edited by Fritz Elsas and Erwin Stein. Berlin-Friedenau: Deutscher Kommunal-Verlag, 1928. Pp. 164.

"The Nation must be trained to manage its own affairs and to step out of that condition of childhood in which an ever restless, ever zealous government wishes to keep the people." With this quotation from Baron von Stein, the editors begin their symposium dealing with the work of German cities from 1918 to 1928. More than a century ago, Stein established the principle of *Kommunalselbstverwaltung* or local self-government. Now, the German cities are struggling to maintain the sphere of local autonomy to which they had long been accustomed. In the war and post-war periods, the *Reich* and the states have made great encroachments on municipal home rule. On the one hand, they have compelled the cities to carry ever-increasing burdens; on the other, they have greatly curtailed local revenues. The present volume deals with the principal functions of German cities but the underlying theme is that phrase so often heard in Germany today, "*Der Kampf um die Selbstverwaltung*."

The book is divided into two main parts, the first of which comprises approximately one hundred pages and consists of twenty-seven general articles. Part II covers the remaining third of the work and is made up of twenty-four special articles, each dealing with a particular city. The general and special articles are contributed by various *Oberbürgermeister* and other prominent municipal experts.

Part I is of chief interest to American readers. There, one finds excellent discussions of the accomplishments and problems of German cities in the various branches of administration,—finance, personnel, housing, public utilities, education, police, welfare, recreation, etc. Separate articles are devoted to Berlin, and to the conditions in the border territories of Upper Silesia, East Prussia, the Saar, and the Palatinate. In "*Die Rationalisierung der Verwaltung*" (pp. 26-29) will be found many parallels to the experiences of American states and cities with administrative reorganization and efficiency and economy measures; while in "*Eingemeindungsproblem*" (pp. 78-80), there is a good brief analysis of German attempts to solve the

"problem of the metropolitan area." "*Berufliche Selbstverwaltung—Gemeindliche Selbstverwaltung*" (pp. 5-6) presents a phase of the home rule struggle which is almost unknown in the United States. In Germany, the organization of economic and occupational groups has been carried so far that the demands of these groups for greater autonomy now seriously threaten the institutions of local self-government.

Although the book is an admirable one in many ways, it is open to a few criticisms. In a number of cases, the articles fail to give a sufficiently connected and chronological account of the administrative and functional developments of the past decade. As the title implies, questions of governmental organization and structure are, in the main, excluded. Since the volume is sponsored by the strictly non-partisan *Verein für Kommunalwirtschaft und Kommunalpolitik*, municipal partisanship and parties likewise receive little mention. Finally, the collection lacks an index; it is also too bulky for convenient use, the pages measuring approximately ten by thirteen inches. The large size is explained by the fact that the entire book is reprinted from the special number of the *Zeitschrift für Kommunalwirtschaft* for October 10, 1928. Apart from this, the format is attractive and the volume is beautifully illustrated with seven full-page photographs and more than sixty smaller pictures.

All things considered, *Die deutschen Städte* is a valuable and not too technically written summary of post-war municipal administration in Germany. It is one of the latest of the many excellent volumes which have been published under the editorial supervision of Erwin Stein, the able general secretary of the *Verein für Kommunalwirtschaft und Kommunalpolitik*.

ROGER H. WELLS.

Bryn Mawr College.



THE NEW EXPLORATION: A PHILOSOPHY OF REGIONAL PLANNING. By Benton MacKaye. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928. Pp. 235.

A product of the mind that conceived the Appalachian Trail, a continuous wilderness footpath from Maine to Georgia, this book is blazing its way into primitive regions of planning philosophy.

To get fairly the viewpoint from which the author writes, we must join him at his vantage point. He first views the metropolis, from the top of the Times Building. He then views New England, from the top of Mount Monadnock. He watches, without ever mingling in them, the outflows, the inflows, and the reflows of man and nature.

America he would pour into the "indigenous mold," his discussion of which is one of the significant sections of the book. With Plato, he believes that "To command nature, we must first obey her," and he outlines three types of fundamental human contacts that civilization must provide:

1. The contact of man and nature, as provided in the primeval setting.
2. The generalized contact of man and man, as provided in the rural village community.
3. The specialized contact of man and man, as provided in the urban and cosmopolitan groupings.

No small-unit planning will suffice for Mr. MacKaye. He would plan great areas, and plan them with an eye to bringing out the full potentialities of environment: physically, psychologically, artistically.

To the author the metropolitan invasion is but an interruption in the scheme of things: like the glacier, which when here must have seemed to be the "main plan—dynamic and devastating."

While the book, of necessity, dwells in the realm of theory, Mr. MacKaye has bitten deeply into the nut of his problem. He has taken a region of New England and sketched a master plan to illustrate his points.

Mr. MacKaye will have enthusiastic adherents. He will also have sarcastic opponents. One group of readers he will not have: those who shrug their shoulders and turn away at the end of the book untouched by the author. For his pen, like the mills of old, drips power. He sees "modern industry an electric switch tower in the hands of a five-year-old." He sees "man, boiled down to his lowest terms," consisting of three things: "his soul, his body and his shirt." And he feels deeply that certain of those elements have been overemphasized in our civilization. The most immediate function of the planner in his opinion is to "fight, with the sharp weapon of visualization, for the intrinsic human values of his country and his world."

His contribution is a stimulating one. At the

least, it is a cool fresh breeze from the Appalachian highlands. At the most it is what the title implies: a significant attempt to develop a philosophy of regional planning, to lay down trails on the frontiers of this subject as the author would trace them in the wilderness itself.

HOWARD P. JONES.

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CITY PLANNING PROGRESS is now so general as to merit summarization in special documents covering specific states or regions. *Practical City Planning in Pennsylvania* is a bulletin of the Pennsylvania Association of Planning Commissioners published by the State Bureau of Municipal Affairs in September, 1928, and containing papers and discussions at the Annual Conference of the Association.

*Report of the New Bedford Conference*, Bulletin 23, December, 1928, of the Massachusetts Federation of Planning Boards (Boston) presents papers at its annual meeting, while the *Annual Report* for 1928 of the Massachusetts Division of Housing and Town Planning presents succinctly many of the problems as yet unsolved and lists the activities and the inactivities of the year by the 107 planning boards of the state. It is high time we weighed the failures of city planning as well as the successes if we are to continue to make progress on a broad basis.

Of a somewhat different type, the Regional Plan of New York in its Publication No. 13 presents *A Practical Program for Making City, Town and Village Plans*, by Wayne D. Heydecker, for the consideration of the 64 planning commissions already established and the far larger number of communities in the region where they are as yet to be appointed. With the Regional Plan now prepared as a background the 400 and more separate municipalities of this vast area have an unusual opportunity to start their work on a sound basis. This bulletin outlines the successive steps that will lead to fruition.

ARTHUR C. COMEY.

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## MUNICIPAL REPORTS

ALAMEDA, CALIFORNIA. *Eleventh Annual Report of the City Manager, Clifton E. Hickok, for the Year Ending June 30, 1928.* Pp. 107.

For attractiveness—a prime essential of a public report—this one stands high. The front cover is irresistible and the content is not an anti-climax, as is often the case. The size of the



report and the character of paper and type aid in making it attractive. The physical makeup would have approached a high standard if important facts had been emphasized by a change in type or by some other appropriate method.

The first thirty pages contain a table of contents which is followed in order by a "vicinity map" showing the location of Alameda with reference to other cities within a 35-mile radius of San Francisco Bay, a table of statistical data, a roster of city officials, an organization chart, a letter of transmittal, and summaries of accomplishments and contemplated improvements. With the exception of a seventeen-page description of the city government which is placed at the end, the remainder is taken up with detailed reports of the operation of the administrative departments.

The most serious indictment that can be brought against this report is its length. While one would hesitate arbitrarily to delete material which the manager has considered pertinent, yet the report could have been shortened several pages without decreasing its effectiveness, by eliminating the vacant pages and by making full use of other pages but partly used.

SUMMIT, NEW JERSEY. *Third Annual Report of the City Government, John P. Broome, City Manager, for the Year 1928.* Pp. 48.

A feature of this report which might well be adopted to advantage in other municipal reports

is a brief history of the city compressed into one page and appearing near the front. This is preceded by a foreword by the mayor and a letter of transmittal by the manager. There follows a roster of the city officials, boards and commissions. This idea is commendable, but the advisability of including the names of rodmen, patrolmen, and laborers in the street department, thus consuming three whole pages, is open to serious question.

The activities of the different departments are set forth quite clearly, and the reproduction of the master plan of the city as prepared by the city plan commission adds to the interest of the report.

WESTERVILLE, OHIO. *Annual Report of the City Manager, L. G. Whitney, for the Year 1928.* Pp. 34.

This report is unique in at least one respect—it was distributed to the public within five weeks after the end of the period covered. It is the third report for successive years which this town has published and sent in for review, and it is gratifying to discern a distinct improvement over the previous ones. This issue includes among other features a clear and simple organization chart and a brief table of contents. The illustrative material is above the average, but not outstanding. The report fails to emphasize important facts, and for that reason does not leave with the casual reader any very definite impressions.

C. E. RIDLEY.

## REPORTS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

EDITED BY E. A. CRANDALL

**Report on Santa Barbara County, California.**—By the California Taxpayers' Association, February, 1929. 154 pp. An analysis of the governmental organization and expenditures of the county for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, together with a general study of the fiscal system for the ten-year period, 1918–1927.

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**The Assessment of Local Improvements.**—By the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, April 3, 1929. 30 pp. (Mimeographed). Contains a proposed local assessment ordinance, a general plan for local improvement assessments, a table of depth factors, a discussion of the assessments of corner lots and the assessment for

sewers. This report adds very useful information to the scattered material now available on some of the important phases of the special assessment problem.

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**A Report upon an Investigation of the City's Purchasing Methods and Procedure.**—By the Kansas City Public Service Institute, April, 1929. 32 pp. (Mimeographed). A comparison of the purchasing procedure in effect in Kansas City with standard methods used in both business and government.

✱

**Report on the Collection of Delinquent Taxes and Assessments.**—By the Schenectady Bureau

of Municipal Research, April, 1929. 33 pp. (Mimeographed). A discussion of model procedure in the collection of delinquent taxes, a presentation of the present procedure in Schenectady and a recommended procedure. The appendices contain the law in White Plains, New York, in Mechanicville, New York, and in Syracuse, New York. These were used in the recommendations for Schenectady.



**Automobile Liability Insurance.**—By the Commonwealth Club of California, April 9, 1929. 94 pp. An account of a meeting of the Commonwealth Club at which reports were presented by the club's research service regarding the automobile accident situation in the metropolitan areas of the Bay cities and Los Angeles. A proposed automobile liability insurance bill is included in Appendix III (a) and recommended for passage by the California legislature.



**Fatal Automobile Accidents in New York State in 1927.**—By J. V. De Porte, director, Division of Vital Statistics, New York State Department of Health, 1929. 16 pp. A detailed analysis of the facts in regard to automobile accidents in New York State. Comparisons of deaths from automobile accidents with those from other causes, and deaths by ages and by place of occurrence are shown with general comparisons of New York City with the rest of the state.



**Municipal Activities.**—By C. O. Sherrill, city manager, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1928. 198 pp. The annual report of the City of Cincinnati. (To be reviewed in the July issue.)



**Proposed Permanent Improvement Procedure for Highway and Sewer Improvements.**—By the Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research with the assistance of Philip A. Cornick and Charles D. Rose, March, 1929. 43 pp. (Mimeographed). A recommended procedure for highway and sewer improvements for the city of Cincinnati. Each step is presented in the proper order and forms for the necessary ordinances are included. The administrative organization for the installation of these improvements that will accomplish the best results under the city manager form of government is suggested.

**Zoning Progress in the United States: Zoned Municipalities in the United States.**—Issued by the Division of Building and Housing of the United States Department of Commerce, and compiled by Norman L. Knauss, April, 1929. 20 pp. (Mimeographed). A general discussion of the development of zoning in cities, villages and towns, followed by a list of cities having zoning ordinances with the year of adoption.



**Regional Planning in the United States.**—By the American Civic Association, April, 1929. 24 pp. A foreword by Frederic A. Delano, a statement and summary by Thomas Adams, and a report of the conference of the Committee on Regional Planning of the American Civic Association held in Buffalo, New York, November, 1929.



**The Use of Deed Restrictions in Subdivision Development.**—By Helen C. Monchow, 1928. 84 pp. Research monograph number 1 of the Studies in Land Economics, published by the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities. The economic rather than the legal aspects are considered in the main. "The purpose has been to consider specific control provisions and to analyze their effect (1) upon the land actually covered by the deed and (2) upon the relations between the conveyor and purchaser of the land, who are the parties to the contract."



**An Introduction to a Study of the Regulation of Public Utilities.**—By Julia M. Hicks, January, 1929. 82 pp. Published by the Committee on Living Costs of the National League of Women Voters. A pamphlet prepared for the "layman" in the field of public utilities. It collects the important phases of the problems involved and presents the "setting" for the regulation of public utilities, the early stages of regulation, and the factors that must be determined if regulation is to be successful.



**Hudson River Bridge.**—By the Port of New York Authority, March, 1929. 42 pp. The second progress report by the chief engineer of bridges, the first having been issued in January, 1928. A complete explanation of what has been done toward the completion of the bridge with excellent pictures, plans, and charts.

# JUDICIAL DECISIONS

EDITED BY C. W. TOOKE

*Professor of Law, New York University*

**Streets and Highways—Use for Private Purposes.**—In *Bozzo v. Perth Amboy*, 135 Atl. 233, the Supreme Court of New Jersey, in refusing to review by *certiorari* an ordinance passed by the city forbidding gasoline pumps, etc., to be established or maintained on the city streets, holds that neither by permit or occupancy may one be given a vested right on the highways. This decision is supported by the general run of authorities. While the city may under the delegated police power permit such encroachments, or the legislature even as against the city may legalize their establishment, with the result that they will not be considered a nuisance *per se*, the beneficiary's privilege is subject to revocation no matter how long the use has been enjoyed. Under such circumstances an adjoining property owner has no remedy for abatement unless the use becomes as to him a nuisance in fact (*McCoy v. Jordan*, 241 N. Y. 71).

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**Zoning—Limitation Upon Power to Zone.**—In *Sundlun v. Zoning Board of Pawtucket*, 145 Atl. 451, the Supreme Court of Rhode Island lines itself up with the Supreme Court of the United States and the other state courts which have recently begun to define the limits of the zoning power as set forth in *Nectow v. City of Cambridge* (260 Mass. 441, 277 U. S. 183). Upon a petition for a writ of *certiorari* to review the decision of the zoning board which denied to the petitioner a permit to erect a gasoline station in a "B" residence area, the court holds that under the facts of the case, showing that the property was not suitable for residential purposes and that similar stations might be allowed within the district, the board had no power to refuse the application. The ground of the discussion was that the facts did not show that the action of the board could be supported on behalf of public safety, health, comfort or convenience, and therefore was beyond the scope of the police power. The property owner is held to have a right, guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, to use his property for any legitimate purpose,

subject only to the valid exercise of the police power.

It is to be noted that this decision goes further than those recent cases, like *Washington v. Roberge*, 49 Supreme Ct. R. 50, in which it is held that lands already devoted to legitimate purpose may not be limited in their use, unless clearly in the interests of the public safety, welfare or convenience. In the instant case, the use is entirely a new one and the court's holding seems to strike far more directly at the basis of zoning. It is unfortunate that no appeal in this case can be presented to the Supreme Court, and we shall have to wait until the highest court of some state denies the right of a petition to a permit in a similar case. It is to be doubted whether upon such an appeal the Supreme Court will sustain the severe strictures placed upon the police power by the Rhode Island courts.

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**Torts—Municipal Liability as Affected by Income from Public Property.**—In *Carta v. City of Norwalk*, 145 Atl. 158, decided by the Supreme Court of Errors of Connecticut, on March 2, the court reversed a judgment of nonsuit in an action brought to recover damages by an administrator for the death of his decedent at a public beach. The city under statutory authority established and leased the public beach for a substantial rental, which went into the general treasury. By the terms of the lease the city retained a right of supervision to effect compliance with the requirements of the lease. The deceased was killed by striking his head upon a submerged post used to moor a float.

The courts of Connecticut hold that the maintenance of parks is a governmental function in the performance of which a municipality is not liable for the negligence of the agents employed by it. The jurisdictions, which thus hold that in the maintenance of parks the principle of non-liability in tort obtains, refuse to make any exception based upon the charge of an incidental fee to be used for additional conveniences furnished the patrons (*Hannon v. Waterbury*, 106



Conn. 13, 136 Atl. 876), but if the property in considerable part is used as a substantial source of revenue the city is held responsible, as a private owner would be for injury sustained through its negligence (*Oliver v. Worcester*, 102 Mass. 489, *Chafor v. Long Beach*, 174 Cal. 478). The latter modification of the rule had been held not to apply to those parts of the property that are clearly independent of the portions rented (*Bisbing v. Asbury Park*, 89 N. J. Law 416). On this general subject, we may refer to a note published in the July, 1927, issue of this REVIEW.

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**Quasi-Contract—Liability of Municipality for Services Rendered or Material Furnished.**—The limitations upon the ordinary principles of recovery upon contracts implied in law where subordinate public agencies with delegated powers are concerned are illustrated in the case of *Stratton v. Detroit*, 224 N. W. 649, recently decided by the Supreme Court of Michigan. In this case the plaintiff sought to recover extra commissions for services rendered to the city, for which he acted as supervising architect in the construction of a municipal tuberculosis sanatorium. The statute provided that before the contract for construction should be let, the funds to meet the obligations to be incurred should be appropriated. One million dollars was appropriated, of which seven hundred thousand was for construction. The plaintiff's contract called for 3 per cent upon approval of plans and 2 per cent additional upon the total amount of certificates issued by him to the builders. The board of health recommended a much larger sanatorium to cost a million dollars more than the amount approved and requested the plaintiff to prepare plans upon that basis. The plans were prepared and submitted, the plaintiff was paid upon the basis of the amount appropriated with the exception of a small balance, and brought this action for 3 per cent upon the excess. The lower court submitted his claim upon the theory of the quasi-contractual liability of the city and a judgment was entered upon their verdict in the sum of \$42,183.56.

In reversing this judgment, and ordering that the trial court be directed to enter judgment only for the balance of commissions upon the \$700,000 appropriation, the court applied the generally accepted principle of public law that a city can contract only by the method prescribed

by statute, and, having failed to comply therewith, no recovery can be had upon the theory of a contract implied in law. This rule is necessary to preserve the integrity of the statutory limitations (*Zottman v. San Francisco*, 20 Cal. 96).

In *Williams v. Klemmer*, 224 N. W. 261, the Supreme Court of Minnesota affirmed a judgment in a taxpayer's action for an injunction to prevent the officials of Owatonna from accepting a fire truck which had been delivered to the city, without following the statutory requirements for the purchase of supplies. The court in referring to decisions which permit a recovery upon a quantum meruit in such cases says:

The rule that, where a city receives and uses supplies or property, so that they are consumed or cannot be restored, the city may be held liable for the reasonable value thereof, should not be extended. Otherwise, it might furnish a convenient method of evading all charter provisions in many cases. The city officials are not the only ones who may object. Where, as here, prompt objection is made by taxpayers before there has been any material use, and no action has been taken in reference thereto except by one or two officials, who had no authority to bind the city, the rule does not apply.

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**Special Assessments—Direct Liability Upon Bonds Issued.**—In the April, 1928, number of the REVIEW, we published an extensive note by Professor F. E. Horack of the University of Iowa attacking the decision of the Supreme Court of Iowa in the case of *Hauge v. Des Moines*, 216 N. W. 689, which upheld the liability of the city for special assessment bonds on the theory of its negligence in providing the fund from which, under the statute, the principal and interest were to be paid. In a supplementary note we contrasted this decision with that of the Circuit Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit (18 Fed. (2d) 860), which in a similar case arising in Idaho held that the city would not be liable. The latter decision has since been affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States (276 U. S. 536).

The Supreme Court of Iowa, now after the lapse of a year, has withdrawn the opinion then published, and as of April 2, 1929, given out a new opinion as the basis of its decision (*Hauge v. City of Des Moines*, 234 N. W. 520). The court now seems to shift the grounds of its decision from liability in negligence to liability based upon the recitals in the bonds, to the effect that "all acts, conditions and things required to be done, precedent to and in the issuing of this

series of bonds, have been done, happened and performed in regular and due form as required by law and resolution." We have thus an instance where a state court holds the city to a stricter liability than the federal courts.

We fear that the new opinion is still less happy than the former one in working out a sound basis for its decision in the instant case. The "doctrine of recitals" in municipal bonds was developed to adjust the conflict between the strict construction of municipal powers and the general principles of law relating to commercial paper. But the federal courts have never ventured to apply the doctrine in favor of a *bona fide* purchaser of municipal securities unless the legislature has directly or by necessary implication vested in the officers executing the bonds or notes authority to make the representations relied upon. Not only was there no express authority thus delegated, but the provision of the statute, that the bonds are to be payable out of the special fund and that the city is not to "be liable in any way except for the proper application of said special taxes," negative any inference of such an implied authority. With all due respect to the court, we venture to suggest that the grounds for its decision expressed in the previous opinion seem more tenable than those now published.

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#### Power of Municipality to Sublet Its Airport.—

Under the statutes of Kansas a "city may acquire by purchase or lease and maintain a municipal field for aviation purposes, and pay the expense of such purchase, lease or maintenance out of the general funds of the city."<sup>1</sup> The City of Coffeyville, pursuant to this authority, leased a tract of land for a municipal airport with the option to purchase at the end of the term. Subsequently the city, evidently not finding it practicable to conduct and manage the airport itself, sublet the entire field to a private individual who, for a stipulated rental and the privilege of charging for services and for the use of the field and hangar space, undertook to maintain a flying school with proper equipment and to operate the field, in accordance with the rules and regulations of the department of commerce, for the convenience of all aviators who choose to use it.

This action of the city authorities was challenged in an original proceeding in *quo warranto* by the state on the relation of the county

attorney,<sup>2</sup> and the principal question presented was whether the city had the corporate power to sublet its municipal airport to a private individual. The court in reaching a negative conclusion based its finding upon the general rule for the construction of corporate powers that "Municipal Corporations are creations of law and can exercise only powers conferred by law and take none by implication."<sup>3</sup>

After noting that no express power in the premises was conferred the court concludes that the statutes of the state<sup>4</sup> cannot

by fair intendment be interpreted to confer upon the city of Coffeyville the corporate power to sublet its municipal airport, nor to confer upon a private individual as lessee of the city the exclusive privilege of managing the municipal airport for his private profit; and the fact that the lease contemplates that the lessee's charges must be reasonable, and that the aviation services he undertakes to furnish must be open to all aviators alike, will not excuse the city's exercise of a corporate power for which there is no statutory authority.

In view of the numerous statutes in the various states authorizing the ownership and operation of airports by political subdivisions<sup>5</sup> and the great number of municipalities that will take advantage of the opportunities to attract the benefits anticipated from the development and expansion of air transportation,<sup>6</sup> many of which municipalities will be in a situation with reference to operation similar to that of the City of Coffeyville, the decision in the case under consideration must be deemed of more than passing significance. This is particularly so when it is recalled that the Supreme Court of Kansas has taken the most favorable and

<sup>2</sup> *State v. City of Coffeyville (Kan.)*, 274 Pac. 258, decided Feb. 9, 1929.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> The attention of the court was called to the comprehensive language of the Kansas statute (R. S. 12-101), which declares that the cities of this state shall have power, among other matters, to make such orders concerning the real property of the municipality "as may be deemed conducive to the interests of the city, and to provide for the improvement regulation and government of the same," and also "to make all contracts and do all other acts in relation to the property and concerns of the city necessary to the exercise of its corporate or administrative powers."

<sup>5</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. XVIII. No. 4, p. 263, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> According to the *Aircraft Year Book*, 1929, there were 365 municipal airports in operation in 1928, and it is safe to estimate that from the current activities in this field that this number will be more than doubled during the ensuing year.

<sup>1</sup> Laws 1921, ch. 264, § 12; R. S. 3-110.

progressive views as to the status of aviation as a municipal activity as expressed in the leading case of the City of *Wichita v. Clapp*,<sup>7</sup> which opinion without doubt was instrumental in influencing subsequent decisions in other jurisdictions.<sup>8</sup>

While the result reached in the instant case may be commended as in accord with general principles, it must be noted that the effect of the decision has been nullified, so far as the letting of airports by Kansas municipalities is concerned, by the enactment of a statute which expressly authorizes that which was attempted by the City of Coffeyville.<sup>9</sup>

It is quite possible, as a matter of expediency in the present stage of municipal airport develop-

ment, that it would be desirable for municipalities to operate their airports under some sort of a leasing arrangement. That this was anticipated by public officials interested in aviation is manifest by the proposed legislation, authorizing the letting of airports, now pending, or recently passed, in many states.<sup>10</sup>

However the decision in *State v. City of Coffeyville*,<sup>11</sup> the case under consideration, is authority for the view that in the absence of express authorization a municipality may not sublet its aviation field for private operation.

H. J. F.

<sup>7</sup> 263 Pac. 12, see comment on this case in NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. XVII, No. 4, p. 238, April, 1928.

<sup>8</sup> See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, April, 1929, pp. 263-266.

<sup>9</sup> Kansas Laws of 9129 (Senate Bill 159).

<sup>10</sup> Florida (Senate Bill No. 92, 37); Minnesota (House Bill Nos. 1299, 1005, Senate Bill No. 1152); Missouri (Senate Bill No. 476); Nebraska (House Roll No. 424); New Hampshire (House Bill No. 185); New Jersey (Senate Bill No. 214); Pennsylvania (Senate Bill No. 196); Tennessee (House Bill No. 94) permitting lease of portions of field. In Wisconsin, House Bill No. 102 A, permits the letting of municipal airports providing "it shall not be leased exclusively."

<sup>11</sup> See *supra*, note 2.



# PUBLIC UTILITIES

EDITED BY JOHN BAUER

*Director, American Public Utilities Bureau*

**Hydroelectric Power in Maine.**—Subject to approval by the voters at an election next September, the state of Maine has shifted its policy in respect to export of hydroelectric power for use outside the state.

Under the so-called Fernald Act of 1909, no corporation was permitted to transmit, for use outside the state, any electric current generated by water power within the state; nor could it furnish directly or indirectly to any other party current for such use. The only exceptions to the sweeping prohibition of hydroelectric export applied to railroads using power for their own purposes of train propulsion and to certain other concerns which at the time of the enactment already possessed the right to transmit hydroelectric power outside the state.

This law has been under almost continuous attack since its enactment and has received extensive discussion all over the country. It has been criticized, particularly, because it prevented the development of the state's resources which are not needed within the state but could be profitably developed for sale outside. The legislature this year, by Chapter 280 of the Public Laws, provided specifically for the export of "surplus power" so far as hydroelectric supply is concerned. The statute authorizes the organization of special corporations to purchase, transit and export such "surplus power" as may not be needed for industrial and domestic needs within the state.

Every such export corporation must be organized within the specific terms of the act. The principal limitations are: (1) it may purchase "surplus power" only from "permittees," at prices fixed by the state public utility commission; (2) it cannot itself own or operate any hydroelectric plant or electric company; (3) it may not sell any electricity within the state; and (4) it is not only subject to the specific terms of the act, but is required to make its purchase contracts dependent upon the observance of the terms and conditions of the act.

As to the "permittees," any utility or other party may sell surplus power to any such export company, provided that it has received a special

"permit" by the public utilities commission, which, upon petition, hearings and investigation, shall determine whether the particular party has any surplus power beyond the need of the state. Every permittee must comply strictly with the terms of the statute; it must enter into a contract with the state to comply with the terms as consideration for the issuance of the permit, and must make the contract of sale dependent upon the observance of the terms and conditions fixed by the act. The permit fixes the conditions of the sale, including the price as fixed by the commission. Each utility receiving a permit must purchase the surplus power from others within its own franchise territory.

The act contains two special provisions which have a general public interest. First, it fixes a 4 per cent tax upon all of the revenues obtained by the permittees upon the sale of surplus power. Second, it sets up a plan for rural electrification. Every utility which is authorized to sell surplus power is required to expend annually for a term of ten years a sum equal to one-half of the gross receipts, for the construction of rural electric facilities, but is not required to make expenditures outside its own franchise territory, nor in any year in excess of \$250,000. This provision may be avoided by order of the commission if the cost of such rural construction is out of proportion to the benefits conveyed and is thus against the public interest.

The new act, if finally approved by the voters, furnishes a comprehensive policy to deal with the development of state water power so as to make provisions for state needs, and to export the excess outside of the state. Whether or not it will work out in a satisfactory manner can be determined only by experience. The machinery of administration appears unwieldy; it is somewhat dubious whether the already overworked public utilities commission, with its extremely limited funds, can manage the large array of details imposed upon it by the new statute.

If the new policy is properly administered it may furnish the way out of the unsatisfactory condition which has prevailed since the enact-

ment of the Federal Law. It will be an interesting experiment. At the outset, however, one wonders what the results would be if the particular policy were adopted generally by all the states with substantial water-power resources. As a long-run proposition, would it be wise to set up numerous state machineries to control the movement of power from state to state, and to permit in each instance the export of surplus power only? Just how should the measure of "surplus" be decided?

Would it be desirable, moreover, to impose a substantial export tax in each state? While technically, as the statute is framed, there may be no constitutional objection to the 4 per cent tax, actually, however, does it not set up real interference with interstate commerce? And is it wise from a broad economic standpoint?

There is, finally, the question whether the extension of rural electrification has any substantial relation to export policy. Will the particular requirement not serve largely to make extensive exports prohibitive? While the state should be congratulated in attempting to work out a comprehensive program of hydroelectric development and utilization, has it not attempted too much within the normal limitations of economic and public policy? The answer cannot be stated dogmatically, and the experience will be instructive to other states.



**And What Are the Limits?**—The Federal Trade Commission has made further disclosures of sinister activities directly and indirectly chargeable to the power companies. It uncovered, particularly, the far-flung hidden opposition to public ownership or public development proposals. In California, for example, it brought out the opposition sponsored by the corporations against the "Water and Power Act," placed on the ballot before the voters in 1922 and again in 1924 and 1926.

The power companies of the state were naturally opposed to this public undertaking, and, of course, had full right to their views, if openly and directly presented to the voters. But they resorted principally to indirect and underhanded propaganda, organized, financed and managed through their own paid employees or representatives. They employed a well-known labor leader, at \$10,000, to influence other labor leaders against the Water and Power Act, when the State Federation of Labor had previously endorsed the proposal. He was paid

openly a salary to further the act, and was hired under cover to defeat it. They reached similarly, through clandestine methods, the representatives of all sorts of organizations throughout the state—civic, social, commercial, literary, fraternal and educational—to influence public opinion, without disclosing the fact that the individuals were in the pay of the power representatives. They increased their newspaper advertising manifold during the four months of the campaign to obtain favorable editorial comment, or to head off newspaper support of the public measures. A special legislative commission in 1923 uncovered over \$500,000 expenditures made by the power companies in 1922 to support the hidden organization and propaganda. These amounts were not reported as required by the election law of the state, and do not include the extraordinary newspaper advertising during the period of the campaign.

Another amazing disclosure was the fact that the International Paper and Power Company has obtained control of thirteen newspapers, or has acquired substantial financial interests in them. The president of the company, Archibald R. Graustein, explained the policy of his organization; how it had shifted its principal activity from production of paper to power; how it has been extended, and how it prospered; that it had acquired the newspaper interests merely to furnish markets for paper, and not to influence editorial and news policy. The sale of newspaper represents only one-fourth, while the sale of power constitutes over 50 per cent of the company's business. Mr. Graustein was an extremely frank and almost naïve witness.

An interesting result of this particular disclosure has been the sharp press condemnation of Mr. Graustein's activity. This includes the moderate and conservative newspapers of New York City. We quote from the *New York Times* as typical:

The whole foundation of honest journalism is laid on the principle that newspaper ownership should have no interest save in publishing facts and making fair editorial comment on them. Ownership that has a financial interest in the public domain, over which there is steady controversy between private operation and the government, has never proved effective in the manufacture of a disinterested or reliable newspaper. The fact that such type of ownership is usually concealed as long as possible is another proof that it is often disingenuous in its purpose. For all of these reasons the growing tendency of utilities interests to buy established newspapers

is unsettling not only to the press itself, but to men in public life who are the objects of the criticism of the press, and to the public, which must depend on the information it receives from the press.

The prompt consequence of the wide publicity given to Mr. Graustein's transactions, was the almost immediate termination of the financial connection with the Gannett group of papers, which include the *Brooklyn Eagle*, the *Knickerbocker Press* of Albany, and the *Ithaca Journal-News*. Mr. Gannett on May 4 delivered a check of \$2,781,158.30 to Mr. Graustein, to repay in full to date with interest, the investment in securities of the above papers. Mr. Gannett observed that the agreement had been made in good faith, and that it was a straightforward and entirely legitimate business transaction, mutually advantageous and desirable. But he recognized the force of the criticism in terminating the financial connections.

This experience shows strikingly what influence the great newspapers have, if it is vigorously directed in support of desirable policy.



**Contracts Between Holding and Operating Companies.**—Among the rapidly growing difficulties in rate regulation, have been the service contracts between operating and holding companies. These contracts provide variously for engineering, financial, legal and other special services which the holding companies may be able to furnish more advantageously for the system-operating companies than could be separately provided by each of the constituent units.

They undoubtedly have a general economic reason for their being, but they have seldom furnished an exact basis by which the costs imposed upon the operating companies can be definitely and satisfactorily measured. To a large extent, therefore, they have served as mediums by which the holding companies could draw profits from the subsidiaries without regard to the actual cost of the services rendered. They have been mostly beyond the control of the commissions, and have been the agencies of abuse in numerous instances.

Among these contracts, there is the well-known arrangement between the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the local telephone operating units. The former has taken generally 4½ per cent of the local operating revenues for the services rendered.

The basis of the particular percentage has been the subject of inquiry on numerous occasions. How it was determined has never been explained by exact statements of cost, but its general legality had been accepted, especially after the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Southwestern Bell case.

A recent decision by the supreme court of the state of Michigan has presented a new angle in regard to this contract. In Michigan a local utility must be operated through its own directors. In the particular instance, the holding company owns 99.99 per cent of the operating company's common stock. Under this state of facts, the attorney-general of the state brought an ouster action against the local company on the ground that it was managed by the holding company and not by its own directors. This view was sustained by the court, which remarked that the local company is no more engaged by itself in the telephone business, than is an ordinary station agent engaged in carrying on a railroad business of his employer. The two companies are recognized to be essentially one, and one of the purposes of the separate entity was to avoid full investigation and control by the commission.

The result of the decision is not to effect a complete ouster of the Michigan Telephone Company, but to prevent the local company from including the payments made to the holding company in the cost computation for rates. This decision, therefore, paves the way for a thorough inquiry into the actual cost of the services rendered by the holding company, and into the propriety of including the charges in the costs taken for rate-making purposes. It points the way, moreover, for close scrutiny of all the service contracts between holding companies and their subsidiary operating units. While the services may be fully justified, the charges should be based upon reasonable costs, and should not be adopted for rate-making purposes without investigation and determination by the commissions.



**Subways Rejected by Detroit Voters.**—For several years, the city of Detroit has been actively engaged with the establishment of policies to furnish thoroughfares, streets and transportation consistent with the requirements of a metropolitan district that has about a million and one-half population, and is still



growing at a rapid rate. Several agencies were employed to work out the "master plan" combining highways, street widening, street railways and rapid transit, to meet properly the present and future requirements of the metropolitan area. Included in the master plan were subway lines to connect the outlying industrial sections with the heart of the city. The estimated cost of the project was \$91,000,000. Of this amount, the plan of financing would have placed 51 per cent as an assessment upon adjacent benefited properties, 17 per cent upon the public at large, and 32 per cent upon the riders through fares paid for transportation. On this basis, it was estimated that a ten-cent fare would be necessary to make the system self-sustaining from the beginning of operation.

The subway project was placed before the voters on April first, and was defeated.<sup>1</sup> The reasons for the defeat have not been definitely

established, but they seem to include the usual objections on the part of real estate interests against the special assessment feature of the plan. Probably, also, there was opposition to a prospective ten-cent fare, and opposition by districts which had wanted the lines constructed through their own localities, instead of the actually selected locations. And it appears that the groups which were interested in the defeat, came out in full force, while large groups of voters were not particularly concerned and did not come out to vote. Mayor Lodge has ordered the preparation of a new plan, which will probably deal with subways to be used for street-car operation only.

In the placing of a matter of such great importance before the voters, there is always the first question whether the particular plan is the best attainable, whether the public thoroughly understands what is involved, and whether enough effort had been made to bring the facts completely before the public.

<sup>1</sup> See article in this issue by Howard P. Jones, entitled "Barber Shop Opinion and Rapid Transit in Detroit."

# MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES ABROAD

EDITED BY W. E. MOSHER

*Director, School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University*

**International Congress in Seville.**—The *Municipal Journal and Public Works Engineer* of England summarizes in a series of three articles the content of the program of the Fourth Congress of the International Union of Local Authorities recently held at Seville, Spain. About thirty countries were represented, with a total registration of 180 members. The main subjects discussed were the finances of local authorities, municipal trading undertakings, and compulsory acquisition of land for public purposes.

The papers from the various countries are printed in full with the general report worked out by the reporters. Taken together they constitute a substantial volume of information on the subjects discussed such as it would be difficult to find between the covers of any single book.

In presenting the report on local finances, M. Wibaut of Holland affirmed the need of greater financial autonomy for local authorities, urging that they should be free to control their own budgets and not be compelled to submit them for approval to the central government as is the case in a number of European countries. Regarding capital expenditures he granted the necessity of a certain amount of supervision on the part of the government, but believed that such control should be neither absolute nor rigid.

In the matter of borrowing by local authorities for capital expenditures, the United States seems to be in a unique position in its emphasis on the pay-as-you-go plan. General practice runs in the direction of long-term loans as necessary for "extraordinary" expenditures.

Dr. Oskar Mulert, the president of the German Union of Cities, presented the report on municipal enterprises. He stated that the development of municipal enterprises was dependent upon the amount of discretion conferred upon the municipalities. He grouped England, the United States, France and Belgium together because the theory of economic individualism prevailing in these countries is not conducive to the development of industrial enterprises by the public. Germany, Austria and Italy were

cited as examples of countries where public opinion and governmental control permit such development.

The universal motive lying back of economic activities on the part of public agencies is social in character. The number of these undertakings under the control of the public has increased in most countries during recent years.

In summing up the discussion two main points emerged: first, that it is not the function of the local authority to compete with its own inhabitants nor to make profit; and second, that it is the proper function of the municipality to do what it can to further economic development and provide for the necessities of the people by supplying cheap services.

Professor Gascon Y. Marin, the reporter on the subject of expropriation of land, pointed out that the right of acquiring land was formerly based on the idea of sovereignty whereas today it is based upon requirements that grow out of public utility and welfare. According to the reports received from various countries, there seemed to be general agreement as to the rights of local authorities to acquire land for essential needs such as streets, open spaces, and public works, but there was no unanimity as to the propriety of expropriating for such purposes as housing and the like. The possibility of unifying and simplifying the law on this subject appeared to the reporter to be mandatory so that the powers of local authorities might be based on clear legal principles and that a simple procedure might be prescribed.

Some attention was devoted to the question concerning the method of determining the value of land for purposes of compensation. Practices in the several countries regarding compensation vary greatly. In Yugoslavia the exchange system is adopted wherever possible. Out of two hundred and fifty cases of expropriation in Belgrade one hundred have been brought about by way of exchange. The representatives from England emphasized the desirability of securing possession of private land by means of "agreement" rather than resorting to condemnation although it is assumed that

with this power in the background voluntary agreements are much more likely to take place.

The problem of permanent and occasional grants to local authorities was made the topic of a special discussion. As in the case of the other topics there was a wide divergence among the countries represented both in practice and in theory. The discussion of grants to local authorities on the part of the central governments centered largely about the effects of these grants upon the autonomy of the local government. The representative from Sweden expressed the desirability of complete financial autonomy for the local authorities and indicated that this practically existed in Sweden where about 80 per cent of the local expenditures are met by local revenues.

The next Congress will take place in 1932 under the auspices of the Municipal Unions of England and Wales. The topics to be given consideration are the actual working of local administration and the training of officials for the local government service.—*Municipal Journal and Public Works Engineer*, April 5, 12, and 19.



**Extension Courses.**—The German Union for Instruction in the Science of Government recently announced a course for governmental officials, running for three weeks in March in the city of Berlin. The course included lectures, discussions, and inspections of various governmental agencies. The purpose was to give those enrolling in the course an opportunity to gain a bird's-eye view of those governmental reforms that are on the point of being adopted and written into law. Reference was also made to comparable conditions in foreign countries. A special group of lectures was devoted to present-day problems in international law.

The Academy for Public Administration in Berlin also scheduled for the beginning of March a series of lectures particularly adapted to the needs and interests of local officials from foreign countries. This course has now been given several times. It is called a vacation course. A week is devoted to the program in the spring and another in the fall. The program itself is systematically organized over a period of time so that the fundamentals of social, economic, legal and technical knowledge and science will be presented with special reference to public administration. The lectures are given by those engaged in public administration.—*Der Städtetag*, February 26, 1929.

**Unemployment and Health.**—The ministry of health in England has recently published a report on health conditions in the coal fields of South Wales and Monmouth, England. The purpose of the investigation, which was staged under the auspices of the ministry of health, was to determine the effect of unemployment upon the physical conditions of the population involved. The findings were that there had been no marked change in the infant mortality rate. Tuberculosis figures also showed no material change although it was found that there has been a perceptible increase in the number of young people, especially women, who are suffering from an acute form of tuberculosis.

A distinct increase was found in the prevalence of rickets, which was an indication of the lack of quality if not of quantity in the diet of children. Anæmia seems to be more prevalent in some areas, especially among mothers of young children. The diet of unemployed people lacks the proper proportions of protein, mineral salts and vitamins. There is also a dearth of fresh milk except where maternity and child welfare centers are operated.

It was observed that in case of prolonged unemployment the benefits granted by the public are insufficient to pay the rent and provide clothing and necessities for a household of any size after the food has been paid for.—*Local Government News*, April, 1929.



**Illumination of House Numbers.**—Considerable consideration is being given in certain influential circles of Germany to the importance of illuminating the numbers of each individual house. This is justified not alone because of the convenience to pedestrians and to drivers of wagons and automobiles, but also because it would be a means of reducing traffic accidents, would serve as a protection against robbers and criminal attacks, and would expedite the work of messengers and of the police and fire departments. Several cities, including Hamburg and Breslau, have already made experiments in certain sections of the city with lighting house numbers. So far the results have proved to be entirely satisfactory.—*Reichsverwaltungsblatt*, April 6, 1929.



**Tenure of Office.**—There was recently appealed to the King's Bench Division the case of an English city official who had been dismissed



without notice although he had a contract embodying the provision that he should receive three months' notice in case of removal. The decision has aroused a good deal of commotion among public officials. Because of its importance, representatives of the National Association of Local Government Officials took the matter up with the ministry of health to determine whether the findings of the court were to be accepted as a basis of future policy. The court's decision was based upon a law passed in 1875 which defines the right of town councils in the matter of removals. The judge cited the provision covering the case which includes the phrase "at their pleasure." In view of this it was held that no provision in a contract between an employing council and an employee could take precedence and dispossess the council of its right to dismiss any of its workers without the right to be heard either before or after dismissal. The deputation pointed out to the minister of health that this decision endangered the tenure of all workers for local authorities and would do much toward undermining the prestige and status of local officials. The minister finally advised that the matter should be referred to the Royal Commission on Local Government which is now sitting.—*Municipal Journal*, April 26, 1929.

**Recruitment of Local Officials.**—Dr. Graham Wallas, professor emeritus of the University of London, expresses the conviction that in view of the reorganization of local government as well as the recent expansion of local governmental functions it has become mandatory to develop a much more rational method of recruiting into the public service. As an initial step he recommends that the facts concerning the methods of appointment now in use in the various local government agencies be secured. He proposes that this might be done under the authority of the Royal Commission on Local Government with the coöperation of the civil service commission, of the professional organizations of doctors, engineers, etc., the National Association of Local Government Officials, and the universities now giving courses in public administration. Additional information should of course be secured at first hand by representatives of the Royal Commission. Dr. Wallas also recommends that the power of the civil service commission might be expanded so that it could take over some responsibility for coping with the recruiting problems of local government officials. This might consist in supplying information and making suggestions continuously with regard to important aspects of recruiting for local services.

# GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION NOTES

EDITED BY RUSSELL FORBES

*Secretary*

**Recent Reports of Research Agencies.**—The following reports have been received at the central library of the Association since April 1, 1929:

**Boston Finance Commission:**

*Report on the Purchase and Taking by the City of Boston of a Lot for the Purpose of Beginning the Widening of the Street.*

**California Taxpayers' Association:**

*Report on Santa Barbara County, California.*

**Cincinnati Bureau of Municipal Research:**

*Proposed Permanent Improvement Procedure for Highway and Sewer Improvements.*

**Kansas City Public Service Institute:**

*A Report upon an Investigation of the City's Purchasing Methods and Procedure.*

**Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.:**

*Memorandum on the Assessment of Local Improvements.*

**Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.:**

*Report on the Collection of Delinquent Taxes and Assessments.*



**New Bureau Organized in Baltimore.**—The newly organized Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, of Baltimore, Maryland, is an entirely independent corporation, created as a municipal research bureau, but retaining in its title a reminder of the old Municipal Efficiency and Economy Commission, appointed to survey the city government of Baltimore by Mayor Howard W. Jackson in 1925.



**California Taxpayers' Association.**—A study and analysis of state expenditures for the ten-year period 1918 to 1928 appears in the May number of *The Tax Digest*. This is a general study covering the income and disbursements for the state from 1901 to 1928. It shows in detail the analysis of income into the state

treasury and of expenditures. In an early issue of *The Tax Digest* an analysis of the expenditures of the state teachers' colleges for the ten-year period 1918 to 1928 will appear. This study, which was made in considerable detail, for the first time in the history of the state teachers colleges of California presents a long-time analysis of comparative costs for all institutions.

The analysis of the revenue and expenditures of the University of California for the period 1918 to 1928 has also been completed and will soon be published. Valuable information and measurements have been set up and are being supplied to the administrators of the University for their guidance.

The largest county study undertaken by the Association since its organization has been brought to completion and is now in printed form. This is the analysis of the receipts and expenditures of the government of Santa Barbara County for the fiscal year 1927. Consistent with the established policy of the Association of analyzing governmental expenditures with a view to establishing and increasing economy and efficiency, this report shows definitely, in comparable units, what it has been costing to operate the county government. It makes specific recommendations for improvements. A number of the recommendations, such as the employment of a county purchasing agent, the rerouting of school warrants to establish better accounting, the adjustment of the auditor's staff, the better grouping of county offices, and further consolidation of school districts, have already been made effective. A distinct contribution has been made in the Santa Barbara County study in the detailed analysis of roads and bridges.

Rolland A. Vandegrift, director of research of the Association, has been called to Utah to aid the taxpayers of that state in making a survey and study of the state tax situation. Harold A. Stone, chief engineer of the Association, is the

acting research director during the leave of absence of Mr. Vandegrift.

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**Taxpayers' Research League of Delaware.**—The almost universal attitude in the state, upon the organization of the League two and one half years ago, that, despite all efforts to improve government, no relief from the existing tax burden could be expected, and that taxes would inevitably continue to rise, is beginning to change in the face of inexorable facts. The recent legislature repealed the real estate tax for schools, estimated to save property owners \$400,000 a year, modified the state income tax law with an additional saving of possibly \$200,000 more, and assumed responsibility for the redemption of county-road bonds out of existing revenues with an estimated saving to the counties of \$600,000, which should be reflected soon in a reduction of county taxes. On top of this, city officials in Wilmington are discussing a possible decrease in the municipal tax rate of 5 or 10 cents. While this change in the tax curve is influenced by many causes, not the least of them is the persistent demonstration of the Taxpayers' Research League for the last two years that state revenues, annually and consistently, were in excess of expenditures.

The executive committee of the League, in conference with Governor Buck and other state officials, have reviewed the coöperative work of the League during the recent legislative session, and have outlined a plan for a two-year program, the major items of which are: (1) supplementary state accounting system to be maintained by the League; (2) a system of budget administration and quarterly allotments supervised by the League, to which state departments and institutions will be asked by the Governor to agree voluntarily; (3) a study of the state's administrative machinery with a view to reorganization; and (4) a study of the entire tax system of the state with a view to its improvement.

Governor Harry Flood Byrd of Virginia will deliver the principal address at the annual dinner meeting of the League on Tuesday, June 4. Governor Buck of Delaware will also be one of the speakers.

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**Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research.**—The Bureau has spent the last three months in legislative work in connection with the forty-third general assembly of Iowa and has materially aided in the passage of the following measures:

1. *County Appropriation Budget.* While this law finally emerged as an act affecting only Polk County, in which Des Moines is located, and which is the most populous county in the state, it will doubtless be amended in the future to embrace other counties. This bill is far from being a perfect budget measure, but it contains the essential principle of requiring the board of supervisors to appropriate in detail the allowances to the different county subdivisions. It virtually turns over the purse strings of the county to the board of supervisors, in contrast with the former method by which each department spent blindly during the year without knowing how much it ought or could reasonably expend.

2. *Special Assessment Law.* This bill sets up an entire new special assessment procedure for the city of Des Moines and embraces the best features of the Illinois special assessment law. Among its outstanding features are requirements that the city council must have information on all present outstanding assessment against any district to determine whether or not it can stand a new assessment, and that the court must pass on the legality of the assessments prior to the completion of the work, as a means of avoiding the former practice of completing a job and then having property owners tear down the assessment with resulting deficits which fall back on the city.

3. *Aeronautic Bills.* These include two measures which establish rules for licensing airmen and airports, and to permit the cities to finance the establishment and maintenance of airports.

4. A law permitting the board of supervisors to pay an annual salary to a county physician instead of paying a fee for each case. This law restores the former practice of paying the physician on an annual contract by the year rather than paying so much per case, which has amounted to several thousand dollars a year more than on the contract rate.

5. *Additional City Assessors.* Heretofore the state law has restricted the city to two full-time assessors who are physically incapable of handling over 125,000 assessment accounts annually, and permits the city to employ four additional year-round assessors to make adequate and equitable assessments instead of relying on additional temporary assessors.

6. *Sheriff's Perquisites.* One measure was passed which will eliminate the practice of paying the sheriff a straight mileage for his personally-



owned motorcycles and deputies' cars, and will permit the supervisors to purchase for the county its motor vehicle equipment used by the sheriff's office or to make contracts for the use of personally owned vehicles. A companion measure to put the sheriff on a straight \$5,000 a year salary and feed prisoners at cost instead of allowing the sheriff 65 cents a day, after passing the House, was buried in the Senate committee.

7. A bill to simplify the sending of notices for weed-cutting assessments by eliminating the requirement of sending them by registered mail which has frequently resulted in the cost of paper work exceeding the actual expense of cutting weeds.

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**Kansas City Public Service Institute.**—The report on the police department, generally called the Vollmer report, is the basis for some improvements being worked out by the police commissioners. A meeting of various organizations and officials interested in police work is to be held soon to consider plans for putting into effect more of the recommendations made in the report. The report itself is in wide demand throughout the country.

The county government reorganization plan, suggested and promoted by the Institute in cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce, failed to secure any action in this session of the legislature. As a matter of fact, because of the delays in the work of checking the bill by the county court, it never even got to the legislature. Meanwhile, county government costs last year increased enormously. There was a large deficit, and for this year an increase in county taxes has been ordered. There is no excuse, except the inertia of county officials and people of Kansas City, for the present disorganized and inefficient type of county government.

Off and on for a number of months the Institute has been making a study of the city's purchasing methods. During the past month a report on this subject was completed and made public. It showed very bad purchasing methods which undoubtedly are costing Kansas City large sums each year. Incidentally, this report happened to come out on the day that the city manager was insisting that the police commissioners purchase through the city's purchasing department. We do not know just how efficient police purchasing is, but it is highly improbable that it is any less efficient than the city's own purchasing.

#### **National Institute of Public Administration.**—

The New Jersey legislature, which recently adjourned, made provisions for an extensive survey and fiscal overhauling of the state government. The work is to be done under the direction of Governor Larson with the assistance of a special legislative committee. This committee consists of Senators Frank D. Abell, Emerson L. Richards, and A. Crozer Reeves, and Assemblymen Guy George Gabrielson, William B. Knight, and Dryden Kuser.

Governor Larson has engaged the National Institute of Public Administration to supply the technical services in carrying on the survey and installation work. A. E. Buck of the Institute staff will have general charge of this work, which will extend over a period of several months. The scope of the projected examination is to be much broader than the usual study of this kind. The various departments, institutions, and agencies are to be carefully examined with respect to their organization, personnel, and administrative methods. A thorough analysis is to be made of the existing state tax system and of the miscellaneous sources of revenue. An audit of the general accounts is to be made on the "test check" basis for the latest fiscal year. A central accounting system is to be devised and installed for the state government, embodying methods and procedure for the establishment of budgetary control. A cost accounting system is to be devised for the charitable, penal, and correctional institutions of the state.

Dr. Carl E. McCombs, of the National Institute of Public Administration, and Raymond P. Van Zandt, of the Rochester Bureau, have recently completed a survey of the Buffalo City Hospital, which was made for the Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau at the request of the Buffalo City Council and the board of managers of the City Hospital. The report of 125 pages, with numerous charts, has been the subject of much discussion in the press and elsewhere. The Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, in view of the general interest in the report, has published it in condensed form for general distribution.

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**Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico.**—The Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico has added to its staff Mr. Robert L. Ormsbee, formerly deputy state treasurer of New Mexico, whose long experience with public finance will make him a valuable assistant to the director. At the

present time Mr. Ormsbee is representing the Association at the school budget hearings held at various county seats. New Mexico has an educational budget auditor, whose business it is to act with two local taxpayers in each county in determining the appropriations for high school and elementary school purposes for the ensuing year. Mr. Ormsbee will be present at the review of these school budgets by the state tax commission during the month of June.

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**Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.**—The general voting machine enabling act, which was drafted by the Bureau and sponsored by the Pennsylvania Elections Association and other civic groups, was passed by the legislature and signed by Governor Fisher on April 18. This act permits any county, city, borough or township of Pennsylvania to use voting machines at all elections at the option of its electors. Voters in Philadelphia and Allegheny counties are preparing to submit petitions to the local authorities to place the question whether voting machines shall be used on the ballot at the election next fall.

On April 22 Mr. Thomas M. Temple joined the Bureau staff as financial secretary. Mr. Temple came from Des Moines, Iowa, where he was financial director of the Iowa Children's Home Society. He served with the Red Cross as general field director in the middle west after assisting the American Relief Administration in Czechoslovakia after the war.

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**San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research.**—The board of supervisors on April 30 adopted a proposed classification of municipal employments, which covers about 5,200 positions. The work of studying and determining the duties and responsibilities of the various positions, and preparing class definitions therefor and allocating specific positions thereto, has been carried on by the civil service commission since April, 1927. The Bureau of Governmental Research has coöperated on all phases of the work and assigned the full time of two staff members to the work for the whole period. The civil service commission has been requested by the board of supervisors to propose a schedule of compensations to fit the classification of duties and responsibilities, and the commission has requested the Bureau to coöperate with it in this second step of the work.

Field work incidental to a study of organiza-

tion, policies, methods, and procedure of street reconstruction and repair activities has been completed, and a report based thereon is now in course of preparation.

Bureau representatives are coöperating with a committee composed of San Francisco and San Mateo County citizens on the subject of possibilities of San Francisco-San Mateo consolidation. A lengthy report on this subject, prepared by the Bureau at the request of the local Chamber of Commerce, was issued last August.

Other major operations being carried on by the Bureau staff include final stages of a report dealing with scavenger collection service, rates and regulation, analysis of the San Francisco teachers' salary schedule and various factors affecting this, and analysis of departmental budget requests for the fiscal year 1929-1930.

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**Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research.**—Joseph F. Base, who has served as the head of the Bureau since its inception in Schenectady, resigned on May 1. Mr. Base left for California where he will engage in civic work of a similar nature. Albert H. Hall, appointed as his successor, has for three years served as an instructor and lecturer in the department of government at Union College. Mr. Hall has also been a Bureau staff member for the past year.

The final report covering a long-term financial and improvement program for Schenectady has been completed. The final draft of the report has been submitted to Mayor Fagal who will transmit same to the common council. The report as submitted bears the unanimous approval of the members of the capital budget commission.

This project is the major one on which the Bureau staff has been engaged during the past year. It not only draws a ten-year financial picture of the city governmental organization, but points out a number of places wherein possible savings and reorganizations may be brought about.

Copies of our report covering the collection of delinquent assessments and taxes have been submitted to the city officials. A letter to the mayor suggested the appointment of a committee for the purpose of drafting a local law to correct the local procedure.

The ordinance covering the new schedule of building permit fees has been legally advertised in the papers and received a public hearing at the meeting of the common council, Tuesday, May 7.

As directed at the last meeting of the board of directors, we have prepared revised copies of our preliminary report covering the care of dependents in the city and county. Copies have been transmitted to the League of Women Voters through the secretary.

We have assisted the secretary of the civil service commission by furnishing copies of examinations covering positions in the fire department. This material will be used in making up questions for examinations about to be held. This is a second similar request for such material, the former one pertaining to the positions in the police department. The material we submitted was used to a considerable extent in making up questions for examinations for patrolmen and officers in the police department. Examination questions for the position of building inspector and inspector in the water bureau were also supplied. The data covering salary trends in the municipal service, which we have been preparing for some time, is now complete and ready for final preparation, with the exception of the department of public instruction.

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#### **Toledo Commission of Publicity and Efficiency.**

—The work of the commission during the last month has centered mainly around traffic. The main results of the survey appeared in *The Toledo City Journal* of April 27 and May 4. Partly as a result, on May 6 the council passed an ordinance providing for limited no-parking

in the downtown district between 7 and 9.30 A.M., and 4.30 and 6 P.M. The commission is also advocating and proposing studies demonstrating the possibilities of a progressive traffic light system.

The milk inspection investigation, referred to in these columns heretofore, was brought to public attention through publication of the hearing, and the actual, as compared with the reported, bacteria counts in milk. The newspapers were not interested in the situation, although, from the point of view of public health and a pure milk supply, it was a serious matter.

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**Utah Taxpayers' Association.**—Graphs and other illustrated material, dealing with the manner in which the tax dollar is spent in Utah, are being used effectively in community meetings being held throughout the state under the direction of the research department of the Utah Taxpayers' Association. Much misinformation and many misconceptions are overcome through the presentation of these illustrated facts. The local taxpayer is impressed with the bigness of the tax problem and the importance of his taking active part, under the direction of his local committee, on questions of tax levies, bond issues, and local budgets. By this plan the facts are brought home to the people in their own communities, under their own local leadership and in their own local atmosphere.



# NOTES AND EVENTS

EDITED BY H. W. DODDS

**Philip Patterson Wells, Ph.D.—In Memoriam.**—Those who serve the public interest without taint of self are few. One of the finest of these was Philip Wells.

Phil was a Yale Graduate in the famous class of '89. There he made two great friendships that molded his life to theirs and theirs to his; George Woodruff and Gifford Pinchot.

Wells had a legal-economic training. His culture and ethical standards were worthy of a long line of Puritan ancestors leading back to the Mayflower. That rare combination of splendid scholarship and innate culture he dedicated unreservedly to the public service. He was a silent worker but an effective one.

Since 1906 he worked either as a public officer or as law adviser on legal, economic, administrative and legislative problems bearing on our natural resources and their conservation including electric power.

The Federal Water Powers Act of 1920 and the Mineral Leasing Act of that year are but part of the product of those years. His ideals and legal talent found expression also in the Weeks Forestry Act of 1911 and in the Grant Power Survey Board of Pennsylvania of 1923.

As chief law officer of the United States Reclamation Service and special adviser to the secretary of the interior (Walter L. Fisher) from 1911 to 1913 he revolutionized the policy and practice of the department of the interior putting it on a public interest basis. More than one secretary since has shied away from the public interest but none have successfully assaulted the administrative and legal structural set up through the genius and service standards of Phil Wells.

Phil was one of these rare souls who in season and out of season, though often at a personal sacrifice, worked for the public good, and saw no reason why he should not do so.

CLYDE L. KING.



**Energetic Action Defeats Increase in Fire Insurance Rates in Minnesota.**—On June 18, 1928, the General Inspection Bureau, in which all insurance companies (other than mutuals) have membership, filed a fire insurance rate increase with the insurance commissioner of Minnesota.

This increase became effective immediately and was of an amount to produce additional revenue for the insurance companies estimated at \$414,878 annually.

In order to protest against the increase, the executive committee of the League of Minnesota Municipalities authorized a special committee to investigate the problem and to appear before the state insurance commissioner at a hearing on July 25. At the hearing, the General Inspection Bureau filed a brief in support of this increase—arguing that the new rate was not an increase but an adjustment. The League committee filed a brief in reply.

After considering the testimony and evidence the commissioner of insurance accepted the conditions in the League's brief and filed his order on October 10. This order not only denied the increase of rates, but also, and most significantly, demanded a reduction in some schedules below the amount that was applicable as of June 18. The net reduction below the rates in existence on June 18 was estimated by the commissioner at \$151,119 or a total reduction of \$560,997. Furthermore the order was made retroactive to June 18, 1928.

It is to be observed that the law (as of 1928) under which the insurance commission is regulated permitted the increase in rates to be effective upon announcement of the General Inspection Bureau. Under this law the hearings before the insurance commissioner could take place only after the new rates were in effect. The General Inspection Bureau was not even required to give prior announcement of an increase. This procedure was considered unfair. As a result, a special committee of the League of Minnesota Municipalities, cooperating with other interested agencies in the state, prepared a bill for presentation to the 1929 legislature to require that no increase in rates could take place in the state, in any zone, city, village, town, county or other political subdivision, without an order of the insurance commissioner approving the same. The bill furthermore provided that when an application for an increase in rates is filed, the commissioner shall order a hearing and give notice by mail and by publication at least

three weeks in advance of the date of the hearing; after the hearing the commissioner is required to file his order granting or denying the rate as he determines. In other words, this bill provides for an orderly and logical procedure in the filing of a request for increase in insurance rates and may prevent an increase arbitrarily ordered by the General Inspection Bureau.

This bill was endorsed by the League Legislative Conference in February. It was passed in the Senate with only slight opposition. In the House, however, the bill, within ten days prior to the adjournment of the session, was actually defeated by a vote of fifty to forty-four. Forces favoring the bill were able, nevertheless, to obtain reconsideration and by quick thinking to place the bill again on general orders. A period of rapid education resulted in the final passage of the bill in the House during the closing session of the legislature by a vote of eighty-seven to nine. The bill has since been signed by the governor.

MORRIS B. LAMBIE.

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**A Charter for the Metropolitan City of Pittsburgh.**—On April 20, the governor of Pennsylvania signed a bill providing for the consolidation of the 122 cities, boroughs and townships in Allegheny County into a metropolitan "City of Pittsburgh."

This is the culmination of six years effort on the part of the Metropolitan Plan Commission, appointed by the governor in 1923 upon authorization by the legislature, to find an acceptable solution for the governmental problem of Allegheny County. The county is composed of Pittsburgh, with an area of about 50 square miles and about 650,000 inhabitants, and 121 other municipalities—three third-class cities, 65 boroughs and 53 townships, varying in size from .14 square miles to 31.97 square miles and from 212 inhabitants up to 53,550. Unlike most suburban communities which are but residential outgrowths of a mother city, these units, with few exceptions, are practically independent economically, though their own natural expansion and the development of the highways have created their proximity and common problems.

The foremost consideration of the commission has been the development of a larger city that would satisfy the aspirations of Pittsburgh for expansion and at the same time preserve the cherished local autonomy of the smaller municipalities. The commission was appointed after a historic battle between the champions of these

conflicting interests, and is composed of twenty-four men, five representing Pittsburgh and nineteen the other units. It is headed by Joseph Torrence Miller, also president of the League of Boroughs and Townships of Allegheny County, who has devoted himself unsparingly to this effort.

The first step in the program was the adoption of a constitutional amendment permitting the submission of a charter. This was approved by two succeeding legislatures and carried in the popular election in November. The majority in Allegheny County of 85,423 was overwhelming.

With the aid of Professor Thomas H. Reed of the University of Michigan, as director of research, who had been at work on the problem a year in advance, the commission then undertook the drafting of a charter which was presented to the governor and legislature in March.

The charter will be submitted at a special election in Allegheny County on June 25. To become effective it must receive a two-thirds majority in a majority of the municipalities as well as a majority vote in the county. It provides that after January 1, 1930, the whole area of the county shall be known as the "City of Pittsburgh," but the cities, boroughs and townships shall retain their names and continue to govern themselves independently in all but a few matters which are essentially of metropolitan scope. Upon the expiration of the terms of the three present county commissioners, January 1, 1932, the consolidated city is to be governed by a board of seven commissioners elected at large but residents of specified districts. In addition to the powers now possessed by Allegheny County, probably the most important feature of the charter is the grant of power to the board of commissioners to create districts composed of more than one municipality and with the approval of the district to levy special assessments for improvements therein upon abutting and nonabutting property. The charter also provides many improvements in the financial practices of the county, for a metropolitan transit department, and for control by the consolidated city of through-traffic highways.

The commission had hoped to accomplish additional improvements, such as consolidation of the welfare departments of the city and county, establishment of a department of personnel, and revision of the minor court system, but the vigorous opposition of the numerous



political authorities of the community threatened the defeat of the entire project unless some modifications were made.

By another act of the legislature, the Metropolitan Plan Commission has been continued for two years more, for further study, and is expected to report its suggestions for improvements to the measure originally adopted.

DORIS DARMSTADTER.

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#### City Managers' Association Moves to Chicago.

—On June 1, Clarence E. Ridley will succeed John G. Stutz as executive secretary of the International City Managers' Association and editor of *Public Management*.

At that time, the headquarters will be moved from Lawrence, Kansas, to quarters furnished by the University of Chicago, adjacent to its Campus, at 923 East 60th Street, Chicago, Illinois. Mr. Ridley, in addition to his duties with the Managers' Association, will become associate professor of political science at the University of Chicago, and will give part time to University teaching and research.

Mr. Ridley was at one time vice president of the Association and has been active in its affairs for the past eight years. His academic training has been varied and interspersed with periods of active administrative service in various cities, including four years as a city manager. Degrees were granted Mr. Ridley from the University of Michigan in 1914, Columbia University in 1921, and the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, in 1927. For the past two years, Mr. Ridley has been a staff member of the National Institute of Public Administration, New York City, from which position he will resign to take up his new duties on June 1.

Mr. Stutz, who has served the Association so well as secretary for the past six and one-half years, resigns in order to devote his full time to the Kansas League of Municipalities which he has served as part-time secretary for many years.

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**New Election Code for Ohio.**—Ohio will have a new election code on January 1, 1930. After twelve years of repeated efforts by the Citizens' League of Cleveland, the general assembly has enacted a complete new election code originally drafted by the League but considerably modified in the process of enactment.

The new code as finally enacted and signed by the governor consists of 150 pages and 139 sections of printed matter. It reduces the old

election laws to one third of their present volume, omits nothing of importance from the old laws, and adds many new provisions to the election procedure.

The committee which framed the measure wanted to go much further in the direction of more progressive election methods and less partisan control of election machinery; but it realized that if a new code were to be adopted it would have to be "very regular" and could not contain too many new provisions. A number of the more progressive features were eliminated, such as the Massachusetts or office group form of ballot, September primaries, and modern provisions regarding the organization of political parties. Nevertheless, the new law contains enough new features to mark it as a distinct advance over the present confused, conflicting and expensive election machinery of the state.

The more important new features of the new code are these:

1. The secretary of state as the chief election officer is given greatly added authority to issue instructions, investigate election frauds, and control the conduct of elections in the state.

2. The boards of elections in the counties are placed under better budget control.

3. Permanent registration is provided whereby, after three days of registration at the polling places in 1930, a voter need not again register until he changes his place of residence. He can then change his registration at any time during the year by mail or by appearing in person at the office of the board. An annual check-up by the police and fire departments is made optional.

4. Nomination of candidates can be made either at party primaries or after the primaries by the filing of petitions. The separate primaries in presidential years have been combined into one primary in May.

5. Three ballots will be used at regular elections: the party column ballot, the non-partisan ballot, and the issues ballot. The non-partisan ballot will contain the names of candidates for judicial, school board, and municipal offices. The issues ballot will contain all issues of whatsoever kind submitted to the voters and there will be only one form of statement for all of the issues.

6. Every voter in registration precincts will be required to sign his name to the poll lists before receiving his ballot. This follows the New York law.

7. Challengers and witnesses at the primaries and elections are permitted for every candidate



or group of persons supporting candidates or issues.

8. A simple recount of ballots is provided whereby any candidate or elector may deposit \$10 per precinct with the board of elections and have the count in as many precincts recounted as he may desire. If 3 per cent error is shown, the money is refunded.

9. The whole procedure in a contest of elections is simplified and made easier and more effective.

10. Optional provisions are included for the adoption of the voting machine by petition and a majority vote of the people.

11. The penalty provisions have been greatly strengthened and increased.

The party leaders, and particularly the boards of elections in the various counties, were disposed, as usual to oppose the bill and on numerous occasions during the session the supporters of the new code feared that the measure would follow the course of former proposed election codes and be buried in committee. But the new Governor, Myers Y. Cooper, gave the measure his unqualified support. His assistance, together with the loud demand for election reforms following the election exposures in Cuyahoga county, was sufficient to put the measure across with the many new features which the bill contains.

The new measure is a vast improvement over the present election laws and will, it is estimated, result in a saving of approximately one million dollars in the cost of elections in Ohio.

MAYO FESLER.



#### Permanent Registration for Michigan.—

Under the leadership of Senator Claude H. Stevens of Detroit, the Michigan state legislature finally adopted a revision of certain provisions in the state election code in which a new system of permanent registration is established. A special commission of three members appointed by Governor Green prior to the legislative session made a study of election problems and recommended to the legislature adoption of permanent registration.

Leadership in the Michigan movement was given by the State League of Women Voters. The League was assisted in its educational program by Prof. Joseph P. Harris, University of Wisconsin, and Prof. James K. Pollock, Jr., of the University of Michigan. The Detroit Citizens' League, through its secretary, was re-

sponsible largely for handling the bill in the legislature. The League of Women Voters deserves special commendation for the restraint it showed in its lobbying program. With forty local leagues in the state the women refrained from lobbying tactics at Lansing, having been assured that the bill would be safely handled by the legislature with the moral support of the governor's special commission and of the few members of the legislature who had investigated the subject and declared themselves favorable to the new plan.

Vigorous assistance in the enterprise also was given by Oakley E. Distin, chief supervisor of the Detroit Election Commission. Mr. Distin's long experience in this field had convinced him that permanent registration was desirable. His influence began with his own election commission and extended to several important committee meetings at Lansing.

Heretofore Michigan cities having a population of 5,000 or more have been required to make a new registration in every presidential year. This left small communities with archaic election rolls, which in some cases were discovered to be encumbered with a large majority of the names of persons who were either dead or had removed from the community. It was shown that the small communities therefore had had for many years a system of permanent registration in name, which was utterly lacking in corrective methods of checking up the lists. It is now provided that in all election units continuous check-up methods be practiced.

The new system goes into operation with the presidential election of 1932. Voters will be registered on duplicate cards which will form the registration lists, and, what is regarded as most important of all, every voter when registering must sign his name to the registration card as a means of identification.

W. P. LOVETT.



**Grand Rapids Takes Leap in the Dark by Appointing Political Boss City Manager.**—Grand Rapids, Michigan, known the world over as the Furniture City, has attracted attention during the past twelve years with its frequently controversial administration of the city manager plan. Now Grand Rapids, one of the first large cities to adopt the manager plan when it was still in the experimental stage, is making another experiment which is bound to attract wide interest.

George W. Welsh, for many years the consistent critic and bitter opponent of the manager plan and all its works, has been elected city manager by the commissioners, at a salary of \$12,000. His election came as a surprise after several years of bitter political controversy during which Fred H. Locke, city manager, and the city commissioners were consistently attacked by Welsh in his weekly paper, the *Grand Rapids Chronicle*. Though Welsh has made no secret of his belief that the city should return to the ancient partisan, aldermanic, ward system, evidently he will now be forced to show what he can do when he has full managerial power.

Welsh has spent practically his entire life in Grand Rapids, coming up from the streets as a newsboy and finally landing in the office of lieutenant governor of the state. Last fall he was an unsuccessful candidate for governor. He belongs to the old régime of political conservatism which has now largely passed in Michigan. His attacks on the Grand Rapids charter system have given much anxiety to the leaders who secured adoption of the plan in 1916. The charter is unusual in some details, such as the choice of the seven commissioners—two from each of the three districts, and the seventh, known as mayor, chosen at large.

Whether Welsh was elected by his friends or his foes seems to be not entirely clear. He announces he will accept only one dollar a year as salary, although the commission, after voting the one dollar per year salary, four to three, reconsidered and unanimously voted to place the salary at \$12,000—a rather high figure for Grand Rapids, which has consistently paid its city officials subnormal salaries. Welsh has announced that he will turn over his salary to an assistant manager.

Welsh's election was opposed by Mayor Elvin Swarthout and two of the commissioners, both of them new members of the commission. The election came without remarks from a single member of the commission. Mayor Swarthout said: "I have nothing to say. I'm going home to pray." City Manager Locke, whose resignation became effective with the election, on walking out of his office after the meeting, said, "All I have to offer is a big laugh." Locke inherited the job after Gaylord C. Cummin had been the first manager for a year or more, succumbing to attacks by Welsh and his associates. Impartial observers have commended the services rendered by Manager Locke and by Mayor Swarthout,

who has been on many occasions an active leader in the policy-determining body.

W. P. LOVETT.

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**New Zoning District in New York City.**—The zoning resolution is accompanied by three maps of the entire city—one showing allowable heights of buildings, another showing allowable areas or bulks, and another showing allowable uses. The last, called the use map, originally showed residence districts, business districts and unrestricted districts. Now it shows four kinds of districts because on April 18, 1929, a new kind of district was established by the board of estimate on this map called the retail district. In this district only 5 per cent of the floor space can be used for manufacturing articles to be sold at wholesale although 25 per cent can be used for manufacturing articles to be sold at retail on the premises. Thus far there is only one retail district. It lies in the center of Manhattan between Madison Square and 50th Street. Other such districts may be created from time to time by the board of estimate in any part of the city. The regulations of this new district are not retroactive but apply to space newly built or newly used after April 18.

This new district has been under discussion for about five years. The name retail was early attached to it although it might have been more accurately called a merchandising district because the regulations allow wholesale merchandising as well as retail. The intention is to prevent in this district the increase of industry. Increasing industrial use brings more industrial workers and more industrial trucks into this central area, the roadways and sidewalks of which are now congested almost to the limit. It is a step in advance in making central Manhattan a high-class merchandising emporium for the whole nation.

EDWARD M. BASSETT.

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**Constitutional Amendments Proposed by New York Legislature.**—For the second time since the close of the World War, the voters will be asked to consider at the November election the question of a further extension of preference to war veterans in connection with civil service appointments and promotions. Under the proposed amendment to the state constitution passed for the second time at the late session, any honorably discharged soldiers, sailors, marines or nurses of the Army, Navy or Marine Corps of the United



States disabled in the actual performance of duty in any war to an extent recognized by the United States Veterans' Bureau, who are citizens and residents of the state and who were such upon entrance into the military or naval service of the United States, and whose disability exists at the time of application for appointment or promotion, shall be entitled to preference in appointment and promotion.

The scope of this proposal is not as broad as the amendment which was overwhelmingly rejected by the voters in 1921, but the same principle is involved and it is certain to be actively opposed by those who believe this method of caring for or rewarding those who incurred disability in serving their country in the Great War is a mistake because of its bad effect upon the application of the merit principle in the civil service.

Four other proposed amendments to the state constitution will be voted on at the November election. They are:

Restricting legislative interference in any new forms of county government which may be

adopted in Nassau and Westchester counties;

Authorizing the state to borrow funds for the suppression of forest fires;

Authorizing the legislature to provide for taking the votes of inmates of United States Veterans' Bureau Hospitals;

Authorizing the transfer of the powers of Justices of the Peace to inferior local courts of criminal jurisdiction.

Under a proposed amendment to the Constitution which was passed for the first time this year and which, therefore, must be referred to the legislature chosen at the next election of senators before its submission to the voters, a change would be made in the "bill of rights" section of the constitution. This amendment would provide that a person held to answer for a felony may waive prosecution by indictment and the intervention of a grand jury. This is one of the changes in the basic law advocated by the state crime commission.

R. E. MCGAHEN.

New York Citizens' Union.

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